Wallace Notwithstanding *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

September 21, 1963, 35 cents

Protecting the Public

Is the FPC Doing What It Should?

James Ridgeway

UNIVERSITY OF VERMO
SEP 1?
LIBRAR

Song of Myself, 1963 —*John Wain*

Renewing Cities —*Wolf Von Eckardt*

Leander H. Perez —*Reese Cleghorn*

British Morals —*Alastair Burnet*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. from Washington

Why Not Goldwater?

★ It seemed time to find out what Barry Goldwater stands for; not what people say but what he says himself. So I have submerged for a week in two paperbacks, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), and *Why Not Victory?* (1962). Both were written before he was a serious Presidential candidate so, presumably, reflecting his true views. What I have found is frightening.

On domestic affairs Goldwater would set the clock back to Benjamin Harrison, but it is his international approach that is really terrifying: he is preaching a holy war.

Take the domestic side first, in *The Conscience of a Conservative*. What would President Goldwater do? "My aim," he says, "is not to pass laws but to repeal them. It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones that do violence to the Constitution"; and a good many things do violence to the Constitution. Hear this comment from a putative candidate of the Republican Party: "Despite the recent holding of the Supreme Court, I am firmly convinced – not only that integrated schools are not required – but that the Constitution does not permit any interference whatsoever by the federal government in the field of education." And again: "The Constitution is what its authors intended it to be and said it was – not what the Supreme Court says it is."

The federal farm price supports problem is unconstitutional, too. His remedy? Go back to "the law of supply and demand." He asks, "Is this a cruel solution?" and replies, "It was never considered so before the subsidy program began." The reader asks himself how a political party could consider a man with these views for the Presidency. Take his approach to labor problems. A drive for "right-to-work" laws defeated Republican Senators Bricker in Ohio, Knowland in California, and others in 1958 – it is pure political arsenic in the industrial states. Yet here is Goldwater's comment: "I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws. . . . Right-to-work laws derive from natural law." And just to complete the matter he would limit trade unions – whose "mammoth concentration of power" is "a grave threat to the nation's economic stability" – to bargaining with individual companies: "The evil to be eliminated is the power of unions to enforce industry-wide bargaining."

I heard a Goldwater supporter the other day deny that the Senator opposes the graduated income tax. Well, here are some necessarily condensed comments by the Senator himself. He writes, "Government has a right to claim an equal percentage of each man's wealth and no more" and puts it in italics. The controlling word, of course, is "equal." But a graduated tax taking 90 percent (at the top brackets) from a millionaire, and only 20 percent from one who makes $10,000 is, he says, "repugnant to my notions of justice. . . . I believe it is contrary to the natural right to property . . . and is therefore immoral." Note the moral emphasis – again. The government does not need "the graduated tax," he says, and "the graduated tax is a confiscatory tax." Many proponents are really trying to "redistribute the nation's wealth," he adds.

It is a temptation to go on and on. He attacks welfare legislation – ("Let us, then, not blunt the noble impulses of mankind by reducing charity to a mechanical operation of the Federal Government. . . . Let welfare be a private concern").

Ambulatory Anachronism

★ These are the views of an economic illiterate and a primitive; they have been out of date for 60 years. One reads them and smiles at first. Goldwater is an attractive, charming romantic; a popular man on Capitol Hill. His candor and sincerity are patent. Like any ambulatory anachronism he is rather good fun. But as President? The joke becomes shocking.

In foreign affairs it is far worse. No wonder Goldwater opposes a test ban treaty; he advocates nuclear tests, deplores treaties. He feels so strongly against Communism that he rejects coexistence. Senator Fulbright is an appeaser because he pooh-poohed Goldwater's call for "total victory." Foreign aid should be trimmed or abolished.

Latin America must be made to love us (by force, apparently). What the world respects, says Goldwater flatly, "is *power*" (his italics).

Innocent Abroad

★ Goldwater holds his views with passionate conviction. It sounds like Bismarck, like Frederick the Great. Repeatedly he says America must take the offensive. "A tolerable peace," he says, "must *follow* [his italics] victory over Communism."

Time, it appears, is on Moscow's side; we are losing the Cold War; we must utilize incidents, stir up incidents. In another Hungarian revolt: "We ought to present the Kremlin with an ultimatum forbidding Soviet intervention, and be prepared, if the ultimatum is rejected, to move a highly mobile task force equipped with appropriate nuclear weapons to the scene of the revolt." Nuclear war – ? The mere threat of United States action "would probably result in Soviet acceptance of the ultimatum." That's faith for you.

It is unbelievable but it is all there. This is the man who is front-runner for the Republican Presidential nomination. He declares, "We should withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union." (He seems uncertain whether we should also withdraw from the UN.) It is all simple and black and white to him; he would proscribe Yugoslavia and Poland as he would Moscow. And America has a sacred mission – "We are the bearers of Western civilization, the most noble product of the heart and mind of man." If other nations disapprove us, "the answer is this – the US is not just 'every nation.' Providence has imposed upon us the task of leading the free world's fight to stay free." Providence has given us a license to do as we want.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 149 Number 12 Issue 2548 September 21, 1963*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 36, D. C. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1963 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.

THE WEEK

3. Wallace Notwithstanding; Testing Those Missiles; While You Were Away; Folly in Vietnam; Peace on the Rio Grande; Teachers and Workers; Report from Belgrade

ARTICLES

8. Leander H. Perez
by Reese Cleghorn
11. The State of British Morals
by Alastair Burnet
12. Latin America's Future Leaders
by Victor Alba
14. Hoadley's Test Case in Indiana
by Jay Neugeboren
15. Man-Killer
by Frank E. Kameny
17. "There Is No There There"
by Wolf Von Eckardt
21. Protecting the Public
by James Ridgeway

DEPARTMENTS

26. Books 34. Art
36. Correspondence 37. Feiffer

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Editors – Christopher Jencks, Robert Evett
Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Assistant to the Publisher – F. R. Ruskin
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel
Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes,
Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein,
B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin,
Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson,
Stanley Kauffmann, Walter Z. Laqueur,
Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Wallace Notwithstanding

Reporting the situation as of August, the authoritative *Southern School News* counted 113 school districts in Southern and border states that were scheduled to begin desegregation in September. Final, definite statistics are hard to come by, but there is reason to believe that the ultimate total will exceed somewhat that forecast. Indeed, the figure did not include school districts in South Carolina (Charleston) and Maryland (Cambridge), which in fact desegregated without any trouble. The President in his press conference of September 12 gave the considerably higher figure of 150 Southern school districts desegregating this fall.

Even if one takes the lower figure, 113 school districts desegregating for the first time is, as the *Southern School News* points out, almost two and a half times the number of districts doing so last year and more than three and a half times the figure for 1961. The previous high figure, and still the highest (over 200 districts), goes back to 1956, before the full fury of organized political resistance was brought to bear against the school desegregation principle announced by the Supreme Court. In the past two years or so, and increasingly in the past few months, that principle has become established beyond all doubt. This is owing to the attitudes of commitment and to the actions of the Kennedy Administration, and it is owing in even greater measure to the revolution of demonstrations that the Negro people has set afoot. It is highly noteworthy that of the 113 districts it mentions as desegregating, the *Southern School News* reports 95 – 21 of them in Virginia, one in Arkansas, three in Florida, 11 in North Carolina, the rest in Texas and Kentucky – as doing so voluntarily, without the prodding of a federal court order; "most of the work," as the President observed last week, "has been done by Southerners themselves." Desegregation is also proceeding further in places that started earlier, for example, Atlanta and New Orleans (the new integration in Louisiana is in Baton Rouge). Moreover, such a school as William Frantz Elementary in New Orleans, which was subject, after rioting, to an almost totally effective white boycott when it took in three Negro pupils in 1960, opened this year with almost the full pre-integration enrollment. Progress has something to do with persistence.

These are all most encouraging facts. They mean that tokenism has just about been fully accepted in the South, although we can look for some ugliness before it is finally put across in Mississippi next fall. The crucially important settlement of principle, achieved through so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much turmoil over a period of nine years, is thus just about complete. The next problem is *de facto* rather than *de jure* school integration, which is intimately tied to *de facto* residential segregation and closely related to general economic conditions and to the general undernourishment of the educational sector of our economy. That enormously complex problem is now upon us in the South, as it is in the North. Schools opened quietly in desegregating Charleston and Savannah this fall, but not in Malverne, Long Island, and Englewood, N.J., which witnessed sit-ins and picketing against *de facto* segregation. The measure of progress in the South is that Charleston and Savannah may in the near future look forward to the problems of Long Island and Englewood and New York City and Chicago.

The story in Alabama, which in a sense mars this picture and which must be dealt with separately, is one of a furious rush of events – all meaningless except for the prompt, peaceful, positively cheerful integration of four schools in Huntsville, and except for two bombings, a riot and a consequent fatal shooting in Birmingham. Faubus of Arkansas was a cold-eyed, cool-headed man of ill-will, who thought that violence and school-closings were useful means of political opposition to desegregation; and in his way he was right, although happily he failed. Wallace of Alabama is more foolish, posturing where Faubus calculated. First Wallace temporarily closed the schools in Tuskegee, Birmingham, Mobile and Huntsville. This met with opposition from local authorities and, it would seem also, from gathering opinion in the state generally. A number of newspapers that had supported him in his racist policies now attacked him, and one paper did not hesitate to say that he was making a monkey of himself. Then came the Birmingham bombing, riot and shooting, for which the Governor can take full credit, although, to be sure, it does not require many matches to light the fuse in that troubled, tense city.

All this time, the Administration wisely let Mr. Wallace stew in his own juice. The Birmingham authorities were prepared to maintain order, and the state clearly was not about to tolerate closed schools. Then the Governor let the schools open but barred Negro children seeking admission pursuant to court decrees – he barred them, that is, everywhere but, inexplicably, in Huntsville. At this point the President had to act, of course. He federalized the Alabama National Guard units that the Governor had been using; Mr. Wallace pulled in his horns, and the schools desegregated all in a matter of hours, and readily enough, although not as quietly as might have been. As we go to press, it seems safe to say that all Governor Wallace has done, and that unintentionally, is to make token integration probably somewhat easier in the remaining places in the South where it has yet to be accepted.

Testing Those Missiles

The testimony of General Thomas S. Power, chief of the Strategic Air Command, before Senator Stennis' Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, is full of curiosities. "The only way you can prove a weapon system," said he, in arguing against ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty, "is to take it out of the stockpile in a random pattern and let a tactical unit take it out and detonate it." Then General Power revealed that "we have never completely tested any of our nuclear weapons in SAC's arsenal," including both missiles and aircraft bombs.

Did this worry the Senators? Apparently not. They did not ask why this situation has prevailed for nearly two decades under three different Administrations. The majority seemed disturbed only that the test ban treaty would prevent any possible change in the situation.

Nor did the Senators note any inconsistency when the SAC chief interspersed his "poor mouth" talk with sweeping reassurances: "I think the reason we haven't had a war is disgustingly simple. We have had overwhelming superiority and whenever somebody examined the feasibility of attacking the US, they immediately had to reject it because it was ridiculous." Concretely, the US has close to 500 long-range ballistic missiles and within two years will have more than 1,500. Satellite reconnaissance photos reveal no comparable Soviet missile build-up.

General Power summed up his objections to the treaty in a carefully phrased sentence which he repeated, almost verbatim, at least eight times during the hearings: "I have a lower confidence factor that we can and will maintain military superiority under the test ban treaty than I have under a condition in which we do not have a test ban treaty." More specifically, the SAC Commander objected to the treaty because, he implied, there is an urgent need for atmospheric tests to evaluate the integrity of our underground missiles and their hardened silos: ". . . there are too many unknowns in the survivability of the Minuteman silo today in my opinion."

Yet later, when the witness was asked if he had "confidence in the ability of the Minuteman to perform its assigned mission," he replied: "Yes, I do. I have a high confidence factor. It is a personal opinion based on what I know." A less reassuring answer might have prompted some Senator to inquire why the Air Force had sought and obtained some $4-5 billion for the Minuteman if it had doubts about its ability to survive a surprise attack and carry out its subsequent mission.

In brief, General Power believes that "to prove out an operational system, you must test it . . . from stockpile through detonation under realistic combat conditions." But it is not the test ban treaty which frustrates

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his desire; it is the nature of modern weapons.

The citizens of the thinly-populated state of Montana, to say nothing of those in more densely-populated states that house underground missile sites, would hardly tolerate the explosion of a 50-100 megaton weapon over one of the silos to enable the SAC Commander to reassure himself as to its survivability, with resulting fallout over many thousands of square miles.

Nor could such-tests be conducted with practical benefits in the Pacific nuclear test range. The sandy soil of the Pacific islands differs markedly from the terrain carefully selected for our operational missile sites to protect them from blast and earth shock.

Even if the citizens of Montana, and nearby states, were willing to tolerate a 50-100 megaton explosion within the continental US, this would not suffice to meet General Power's criteria. Immediately following the detonation, the Minuteman would need to be fired from its silo, *with its thermonuclear warhead fully activated*, to determine if it would reach the intended target area and explode with the expected force. The Air Force has not been willing to recommend test firings of missiles even without active warheads from its operational sites because of the risk to the populace under its flight path.

But even if the nation should feel that such risks were necessary to prove the mettle of our missile power, the test would not be meaningful unless the warhead was forced to penetrate the ICBM defenses which General Power believes the Soviets have developed. The only effective way to duplicate this would be to enlist the cooperation of the Russians and to use the Soviet Union for target practice.

Bird in the Hand

While You Were Away

Secretary Udall's Bureau of Outdoor Recreation guesses that 80 million Americans above the age of 12 take vacations every year. Twenty four million go in July and 19 million in August and their combined 1.2 billion "recreational experiences" (in the language of the Bureau) leave them little time to attend to the events in the great serious world they have left behind.

What have they missed hearing about?

Well, the vacation period began just before Independence Day when 8,000 people came to Washington to shout for Goldwater and ended just before Labor Day when 200,000 came to sing for the civil rights bill. Washington was otherwise so torpid that President Kennedy talked about Congress going on until Christmas. Richard Nixon had the most unexpected vacation and was photographed cheerful in the Hungary of Janos Kadar. The Soviets claimed victory, the Americans were guarded about the results of a badminton match between Nikita Khrushchev and Dean Rusk. Few other politicians had the time to contribute to the national production of "recreational experiences." Harold Stassen announced that he would enter the New Hampshire Presidential primary. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge went to Vietnam, was snubbed by the Nhus, and was permitted no larger command decision than ordering vegetables for two Buddhist-priests-in-refuge in the US embassy in Saigon.

Nelson Rockefeller disregarded the polls that showed him behind Goldwater with Republicans professional and amateur, threatened to bolt the party if it adopted a Goldwater platform, indicated he might even bolt if it nominated Goldwater on any platform at all. Both he and Goldwater hinted they would accept Stassen's challenge in the New Hampshire primary. Meanwhile, Governors Romney and Scranton survived legislative sessions. The most intriguing word from the pollsters – who never take vacations – came from Gallup: either Goldwater heavily or Romney handsomely enough would carry the South. In Thomasville, Ga., a movie theater advertised *PT 109:* "See the Japs almost get Kennedy."

Postmaster General Day finally got to see the President with the resignation he had been waiting a month to deliver. Joseph Mitchell, City Manager of Newburgh,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

N. Y., also left for the private sector to be Eastern organizer for the John Birch society. The vacation season brought comfort to two ladies already familiar in the private sector: Christine Keeler entered Madame Tussand's and Fannie Hill was cleared of obscenity, 200-odd years after the fact, by a New York Court.

The only real public events while you were away were, as usually happens, the unalterable losses. Among those who died in July or August were Estes Kefauver, Philip Graham, Clifford Odets, Eric Johnston, Theodore Roethke and Oliver La Farge.

Folly in Vietnam

News that the Central Intelligence Agency is paying $250,000 a month to those SS-like brutes of the Diem regime who have been conducting the anti-Buddhist and anti-student raids in Vietnam is appalling. None but the naïve expects that the "Department of Dirty Tricks," as it is often called, operates under the Marquess of Queensberry rules, but what astounds in this instance is the illustration of the American government working against itself. The President says that our single, "very simple" aim in Vietnam is to get Communism contained and the Americans out. But these CIA-subsidized Special Forces are not used to overcome Viet Cong guerrillas; quite the contrary: they discredit the anti-Communist cause.

In official statements of the past two weeks, the Department of State, with unusual bluntness, spoke of the horror with which it viewed the events in South Vietnam. In a further attempt to whitewash the Vietnamese Army, which it supports – and, by ricochet, to absolve the United States from any blame in the matter – the Department pointedly underlined that the repressions are being carried out solely by the hated Special Forces of Ngo Dinh Nhu and his stooge, Colonel Tung; as if these Special Forces had not also benefited from the most advanced and meticulous American training and were not carrying out their dirty work with American weapons, American uniforms, American "Black Marias" to cart off the prisoners – and American money.

The latter point must be looked upon with some cold realism. For the CIA, the Pentagon, or indeed the Vietnamese government, $3 million a year is peanuts: the Bay of Pigs fiasco conservatively cost $50 million, not to speak of the ransom for the survivors. The Laos mess cost over $400 million, and the South Vietnam catastrophy by now costs well over $700 million a year if one includes the funds spent in Vietnam on US troops and equipment there, which are paid out of Department of Defense funds. It is obvious that the Diem regime, whose own gold reserves are officially acknowledged to be over $260 million (and which recently ordered all the gold and currency reserves of Vietnamese private banks to be moved to Saigon, where it can easily get hold of them), could easily afford to pay its own terror squad without further American aid. And that is precisely what makes the CIA's reported continuance of the Special Forces subsidy so incomprehensible.

Let us once more review the record: the President of the United States in the first week of September twice went on record to condemn the Saigon regime's barbarisms. His representative on the spot, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, also made it plain to Diem personally that Washington was deeply averse to what the Special Forces, operating under Diem's brother, were doing not only to adult Buddhists but to hundreds of demonstrating school children.

Then, in full view of millions of spectators at prime TV time, the President, on September 9 stated openly that "Mr. McCone, head of the CIA, sits in the National Security Council. We have had a number of

His Brother's Keeper

The country is under the administration of the first Catholic President in its history. He is one of a numerous and rich family distinguished for ambition and group spirit. The members obviously relish power and place and are bent on retaining them – the female side no less than the male. This President brought into office a reputation as a man of decision and clear purpose. Time has dulled the luster. It has rendered him increasingly ambiguous. Was a better choice available? Are there preferable alternatives even now? I shall not venture to say. The President relies especially on a junior brother, within his official as well as his kindred family. Though of debatable qualification, this sibling is entrusted with enforcement of the laws. He is, moreover, the President's closest and most puissant and pervasive counselor. He appears to excel the elder in willfulness, energy, and ruthlessness. His methods have made him disliked in the South.

This country is in a time of troubles. Issues of discrimination are rife. Voices are raised for justice and equality. Protest and sometimes violence surge in the streets. The economy – as measured in such matters as growth rate and employment – is disappointing. Jobs are a problem, especially among urban youth. Communist power is ensconced nearby in a privileged sanctuary. The government seems to have no adequate idea for coping with the consequences; the gap between precept and performance is discouragingly wide.

That about sums up the situation in South Vietnam.

Remarks by Charles Burton Marshall, September 6, to the American Political Science Association in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meetings in the past few days about events in South Vietnam. Mr. McCone participated in every one . . . ."

On the same day, a *New York Times* and a UPI dispatch from Saigon stated that the CIA agents in Vietnam had been almost unanimously *against* continuance of aid to Colonel Tung's thugs, but apparently were overruled from higher up with a curt: "Gentlemen, it's business as usual."

What is one to make of all this? Does "higher up" mean Secretary McNamara, many of whose slide-rule associates in the Pentagon even at this late date insist there is no "hard" evidence the Saigon regime lacks mass support? Or does "higher up" mean Mr. McCone? If so, was he doing the President's bidding? If he was, what is the meaning of the President's statement that we want our aid to be used in "the most effective way possible" or Ambassador Lodge's efforts to disassociate the US from the repressive features of the Diem regime?

Thus, to the bemused average Vietnamese who may still have some faith in the US, the following picture unfolds: while the President of the United States had officially viewed the South Vietnamese persecution of all opposition with distaste, he or his subordinates had, after some initial hesitation, decided to back the Diem regime down the line – all the way to the concentration camps. *Vive la liberté!*

Peace on the Rio Grande

The Kennedy Administration's decision to acknowledge Mexico's title to the Chamizal tract near El Paso ends one of the most enduring and intricate squabbles in US diplomatic history. The dimensions of this milestone in diplomacy are actually modest. The 430-acre tract equals about one five-millionth of the national domain. Some 3,500 inhabitants will have to be relocated in adjoining El Paso. Their numbers, the cost of relocating them, and of the work of rechanneling the river to place the tract on the Mexican side are comparable to a mile of urban superhighway.

So why all the fuss? Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo, which ended the Mexican War in 1848, the task of plotting the Rio Grande channel which was to divide Mexico from Texas was assigned to a joint survey team. The surveyors' report of 1852 contained a gratuitous stipulation that the boundary should "ever remain" as they had found and plotted it. The phrase became the basis of a Mexican claim that the line of the channel as of 1852 was to be the boundary in perpetuity. According to the United States' counter contention, the line was subject to normal usage of international law. Under "normal usage" a river boundary shifts if the channel erodes, but stays fixed in instances of avulsion – that is, sudden swings into new channels. The difference of interpretation proved important in later years as the torrential Rio Grande meandered across the landscape, setting up enclaves of disrupted sovereignty on both sides of the channel.

The problem pertaining to the Chamizal tract proved uniquely obdurate. From 1852 to 1864 the river in this area had veered slowly to the South. A series of freshets from 1864 to 1868 had moved it more rapidly in the same direction. American control had filled in behind the shifting stream. In 1894 Mexico had asserted irredentist claims. Since the mood of the times, especially in Washington, put great stress on the virtues of arbitration, a 1910 treaty established a commission, consisting of the two chiefs of the joint boundary commission, plus a Canadian jurist as presiding member, to settle the issue.

Rulings were handed down in 1911. By a complex and legally dubious line of reasoning, the Canadian adjudicator decided that the territory which had shifted by slow erosion before 1864 should be retained by the US, while the territory shifted by rapid erosion after 1864 should be treated as if this were a case of avulsion, with title reverting to Mexico. Perhaps it was a Solomon's judgment on the neutral member's part – a studied attempt to give each claimant something. But on the ground that the commission had exceeded its terms of reference by defining rapid erosion as avulsion, the US refused to honor the award.

The rejection of an arbitration award for failure to abide by terms of reference had a basis in precedent, but the damage to America's good name in Mexico was considerable. The extraordinary thing is that the Kennedy Administration should have been the first in half a century to see that the prize was not worth the price.

Teachers and Workers

The agreement between New York City and the United Federation of Teachers, by which a school strike was averted only the night before school opened, is interesting as a victory both for the teachers and the children. The teachers won themselves a $560 annual increase, but their other achievements indicate concerns refreshingly less parochial. They convinced the Board of Education to limit class sizes – 35 in junior high schools and 37 in high schools. Swollen classes, of course, hardly contribute to pleasant working conditions; but, by all reports, the teachers are bothered less because large classes make the work more difficult than because they make it so fruitless. The union has also persuaded the Board to widen its recruiting system and set up competitive examinations all over the country – particularly in the South where good Negro teachers are frozen. It argued that the New York system has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declined because it can draw only from New Yorkers and that its competitive examinations mean nothing because the local teachers' shortage is so desperate that almost any literate can pass them.

The New York teachers seem then as concerned with improving the product as they are with the conditions of its production. In the same spirit, Utah teachers voted last summer to refuse to sign contracts until the legislature agreed to appropriate more money for their schools, and not just for teachers' salaries.

The unions talk so much about what they can teach the teachers that they may overlook what teachers can teach them. Last week, the Center for Democratic Institutions released the transcript of a conversation with 10 officials of the United Auto Workers who were troubled by the decline of union spirit, loyalty and imagination. "All the things we fought for the corporation is now giving the workers," one of them said. "What we have to find are other things the worker wants which the employer is not willing to give him. . . . We're searching, we're searching." But will their search include a search for quality?

One problem of the worker could simply be that he does not like what he's doing. By tradition the bakers union does not think the quality of the bread its business. A worker who feels no pride in his labor is likely to be apathetic about his job and everything connected with it, which includes, of course, his union.

Perhaps the New York teachers can instruct the older, stronger unions in just what kind of things a worker might want that his employer is not willing to give him. Pride in the product is one.

Report from Belgrade

One of *The New Republic's* most cherished contributors watched Nikita Khrushchev's recent state visit to Yugoslavia and sends along this unexpected portrait:

"In recent times, Khrushchev has grown much older, less intellectually alert and less physically fit. Everyone who saw him in Belgrade seems to have asked some question like: 'Is this the same Nikita who could walk for hours, eat fantastic amounts of food, drink even more and make speeches, countless speeches every morning, every afternoon, every night, speeches colored with a multitude of proverbs, anecdotes, sayings, full of bitter sarcasm?' As seen now, he is an old man who moves with considerable difficulty, whose speech has lost its previous remarkable clarity, whose tone of voice is fuzzy, and whose bitter wit only seldom shines. In Belgrade last month, Khrushchev drank only his Caucasian mineral water, made great efforts to protect himself from the Yugoslav sun, and seemed always tired, deadly tired."

The Perils of Plaquemines

Leander H. Perez

When the government of the Western Hemisphere's only autonomous oil sheikdom was reorganized two years ago, it was ambiguously entitled the "Plaquemines Parish Commission Council." The ambiguity was eliminated when Leander H. Perez, Sr. was elected president by acclamation. As of that moment, there ceased to be any reason to debate whether the parish was to have a council, commission or other form of government: the sheik was acting as his own first minister, and it was clear that he had not decided to conduct any do-gooder experiments with Western democracy. Perez, a stocky, fist-clenching, explosive man of 72 years, was asked a few days ago whether there had ever been any question about who would be the president of the new parish council. His swatches of gray-black eyebrow lifted as if the idea startled him. "Well, why *should* there be?" he said. "After all, it was my brainchild. I'd say the work in the parish – the financial setup has made it all possible – is all the result of my work and special legislation which I wrote over the years." And then he added with rapid, rising crescendo: "What is the objection to PEREZ being the LEE-DAH?"

In point of fact, Perez has seldom been challenged as the leader of the parish (Louisiana's unique designation of a county) for four decades. He began political life as the local judge in 1919, and although he left that office no less than 39 years ago he is still called "Judge Perez" by one and all, including himself in his frequent third-person discourses. In 1924 he moved from the judgeship to the more powerful position of district attorney, a post he then held for 35 years. (The present district attorney is Leander H. Perez, Jr.) In Louisiana, the district attorney is potentially the strongest local official, and over the years Perez used it to consolidate power to such an extent that his practical control of all political offices in the parish is unquestioned. Some of the country's leading oil companies operate in Plaquemines, and it has been the main source of Perez' vast personal wealth (his estimated annual income: a quarter of a million dollars).

Plaquemines is a slender, crooked finger of sand, shell and marshland bisected by the Mississippi River where it flows into the Gulf of Mexico. When Perez became its leader, the parish had no paved roads and little commerce. It still has only one main highway on each side of the river, but it is the richest oil county in Louisiana; oil and sulphur production have been valued

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at about one-quarter of a billion dollars in a year. Plaquemines also has thriving trapping, oyster and citrus industries and one of the lowest tax rates to be found anywhere.

Perez's claim upon all this is inspired in part by the diversity of the perils he has fought off on behalf of his people. Aside from human evils such as unions, certain kinds of industries that might be disruptive, and people themselves (New Orleans subdivision developers are always trying to scale his ramparts), he has struggled against evil animal influences. Mosquitoes, of course, are an eternal enemy because of the marshes, but lately there have been other scourges. Plaquemines has just marshaled its forces against an invasion of sea snails threatening its $4 million oyster industry. The Perez-sponsored strategy was to divert the Mississippi River into the oyster beds; sea snails cannot stand fresh water, while oysters do not seem to mind it. The idea of Leander Perez's moving the Mississippi River does not seem to have struck anyone as especially noteworthy.

Last year, the leader forthrightly faced another danger, the possibility of a rabies epidemic transmitted by the numerous fur-bearing nutrias in the parish. A *Times-Picayune* story about a Plaquemines council meeting said: "Perez . . . likened the parish to a bundle of dynamite that could explode at any time because of the increasing number of people, dogs and nutria."

The dog and nutria problem seems to have been brought under control, but the people problem is worse. "We could have 100,000 people easily in this parish," Perez said in contemplating this recently. "But we don't want 'em." Plaquemines has, instead, 24,000 people, a fourth of whom are Negroes who seldom indicate any desire to vote. Perez explains his aversion to human spill-overs from New Orleans by citing the heavy additional costs the parish would bear for schools and other services, but an even better reason comes to mind: New people would dilute the voting lists. This already has happened in neighboring St. Bernard Parish. Perez once was as much in control there as in Plaquemines, but several years ago anti-Perez forces began to steal St. Bernard away. The moral of that story seems to be to keep people out, unless they are connected with some existing local industry which can help "orient" them to Plaquemines way of life.

Church and State

Perez can rely upon his subordinates to handle the details of most of his fights these days, but in the two most recent ones his foes have been sufficiently prominent to merit his personal attention. They are the Roman Catholic Church and the US Government.

In the case of the Church, it is difficult to say who is ahead. Perez has been excommunicated but is unbowed. The Church's effort to desegregate an elementary school in his parish has been successful only if success means no segregated education; the school for two years has been unable to conduct normal classes.

The school involved is Our Lady of Good Harbor in Buras, which was the first Catholic elementary school in Louisiana to be desegregated. With his usual perspective, Perez said last year that there was a very simple explanation for the selection of Buras for this beginning. "It was a petty spite against Judge Perez," he said, "because Judge Perez stood out in the fight against the omnibus civil rights bill." Perez sees integration moves by government and church as part of the same conspiracy – one devised by Stalin, fomented by Jews, borne along now by Negroes, and supported by Communist-infiltrated Christian churches as a means of destroying white, Christian America. He has accused the Church of "a big lie" in suggesting continued segregation is sinful, has suggested a "payoff" to the Church in the form of federal grants for projects in which it has an interest, and has likened his excommunication to the fate of Joan of Arc.

Though Plaquemines Parish is heavily Catholic, Perez's vituperative comments upon the hierarchy do not seem to have lessened his hold upon local affairs. On the morning last year when the Church was forced to suspend classes at Our Lady of Good Harbor because white children were not attending, Perez rode to the school and was greeted by enthusiastic applause from the assembled whites. He told the crowd that it had successfully met "one of the worst challenges that has ever confronted our people in Plaquemines Parish."

The Rev. Christopher Schneider, the priest of Our Lady of Good Harbor, said when the school began desegregating last year that he feared "insufficient police protection." Shotgun fire already had knocked out windows of the church rectory, and birdshot pellets were to shatter more panes at the rectory the following November. Then late last August 26, a few days before the school was to open, a gasoline-ignited explosion severely damaged it. Sister Ann Bernadette, a nun at Our Lady of Good Harbor, said a woman had called that afternoon and said if the school opened with any Negroes "we're going to blow up the school and you in it." The school was closed.

While again confronting school desegregation on this flank, Perez has been waging another offensive elsewhere against his old enemy, the federal government. It all began with the Gesell Report, the now-celebrated product of a committee study of racial discrimination as it affects military personnel. An important part of the report, which has been popularly styled with the name of Washington attorney Gerhard A. Gesell, suggested that military officers "showing initia-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive and achievement" in ending discrimination affecting military personnel should receive special consideration for promotion. Perez has repeatedly referred to this as though it were part of the directive issued by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on July 26 implementing the Gesell committee's findings. Actually, it was not. McNamara's directive did say, however: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." Further, the directive said, commanders might declare off-limits any areas where "relentless discrimination persists."

This was the heart of the order, and to Perez it meant that the Naval Air Station in Plaquemines Parish was about to become a subversive element in a community where, he likes to say, "We have everything very well organized." The base, actually, is no more than a reserve training facility with about 650 military personnel and fewer than 500 civilian employees, but Perez has never been especially fond of it.

Saved from the Navy

So, lest this alien creature begin to fester in the body politic, Perez set out this summer to do unto it before it could do unto Perez. First he announced that the parish school board would bar the children of base personnel from the public schools. This order which at present would involve somewhat more than 100 children, was less ominous as finally adopted; it said the children would be accepted conditionally this year, but left the impression they might not be next year. The base has not sought to place any Negro children in the public schools, and the real significance of the school board order may be as an indirect warning against this possibility.

Then on August 30 the Plaquemines Parish Commission Council took historic action as national network cameras focused upon the scene in the little town of Pointe a la Hache (which may be called the administrative capital of Plaquemines, as distinguished from the royal capital upriver on the big Perez estate). The council declared all parish-licensed bars and lounges off-limits to uniformed military personnel. It also placed the Naval Air Station off-limits to Plaquemines civilians, and it demanded a Congressional investigation of the Gesell Report, which, it explained, calls upon military commanders "to invite a more or less equal number of Negro girls for social on-base functions, and fewer girls, or ladies, who believe in segregation."

As the Navy pondered all this, Perez was saying privately that of course the council was not trying to keep civilian employees away from the base. The real triumph of the council's action was in beating the Navy to the draw. "The Gesell Report . . . says that the base commander should declare the communities off-limits if they do not accept total integration," and, he added with obvious satisfaction: "So, the council adopted a resolution declaring the base – OFF LIMITS!"

Back in New Orleans, Rear Adm. Charles H. Lyman, a third-generation military officer, received the first salvo and quickly returned the fire. "In Navy parlance," he said in an extraordinarily lively official release, "we were sitting peaceably on our sea bags gazing out the porthole when we were whacked over the head by this reported threat. . . . I stand ready to go to General Quarters [battle stations], while hoping that sensible people both in Plaquemines Parish and elsewhere will stand up on their hind legs and prevent any such foolishness."

For a day or so it appeared that Perez might be up against a man just as facile as he at shaping complex issues into superb imagery. It was, however, the Pentagon rather than Perez that reeled when hit by the admiral's words; Lyman has been notably silent since that initial statement, and everything now must be cleared in Washington. As for the McNamara directive, nothing further has been heard about it locally.

Meanwhile, Perez has continued to assail the Gesell Report and the directive, alternately referring to them as "the Negro Gesell Report," "the Gesell-Yarmolinsky Conspiracy," and "the Yarmolinsky-McNamara Report." He is especially fascinated by the name of Adam Yarmolinsky, a special assistant to McNamara, and he likes to affect a slow, hissing rendition of it which he apparently takes to be the natural Russian pronunciation. He says that "this Gesell Report, backed up by Yarmolinsky's military order . . . would absolutely turn over the military to the NAACP. . . ."

For all his charges and warnings, however, it now has become obvious that Perez actually has done little or nothing that immediately affects the base. The assorted military personnel there, representing all four services, never had invaded Plaquemines bars and taverns in mass, anyway, since New Orleans is nearby. All they have to do now if they want to drink in a Plaquemines establishment is to do it out of uniform. As for the base's civilian employees, nothing has changed for them; and the "ladies who believe in segregation" probably are no more in absentia than they ever were.

But Leander Perez has let the people of Plaquemines know once again that he has saved them from disaster, even as he saved them before from sea snails, mosquitoes, dogs, rabid nutria, Jews, suburbanites, and priests.

REESE CLEGHORN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LORD DENNING'S UNABRIDGED REPORT WILL BE TOP SECRET

The State of British Morals

London

Life this summer has been one penny dreadful after another. No sooner had the British reading classes put down the Stephen Ward trial (on the evening tube trains one could hear nothing but the rustle of turning pages) than they were offered the Great Train Robbery, a matter of £2.5 million nicked from the Royal Mail in one dark night. The hunt for the train gang and its swag has temporarily switched many a rough island mind from tarts and two-way mirrors to the clean, healthy pursuit of robbers, by cops, with much of the citizenry taking to the fields and hedgerows on weekends in hopes of turning up a cache of abandoned fivers. But sex is likely to try a come-back. Toiling devotedly at his desk in the Treasury is the judge appointed to report on the whole Ward-Keeler-Profumo business, and the long history of the publishing trade has never seen a bigger build-up. Lord Denning has twice called round at Admiralty House to take evidence from Harold Macmillan; he has seen Ward's two girls, Miss Keeler and Miss "Mandy" Rice-Davies; he is said to have demanded the papers in the Argyll (duke and duchess of) divorce case; he has seen Profumo; he has been tracking down the Man in the Black Mask; he has been warned about certain Ministers of the Crown; he has talked with just about every top trollop in town.

But the going may have been uphill. Witnesses have certainly been coy about naming names: not to pervert justice, naturally, but there is an etiquette about these matters. Thus Miss "Ronna" Ricardo (22), self-confessed prostitute (whipping without intercourse), declared roundly the other day: "It is a matter of honor that you don't name your clients. My business depends on trust. It takes a long time to build up a clientele of my standing." It is a matter of record that this same Miss Ricardo changed her evidence, to the Crown's annoyance, half-way through the Ward trial, claiming her original statement had been compiled under police persuasion. Whereupon the Crown inquired nastily if she had been trying to sell her story to the Sunday papers (La Keeler got £23,000 for hers) and needed a new twist. But then the part the press has played in all this is another story of perversion.

As it happens the full, unabridged Denning report will have only two readers: Macmillan himself and Labour's leader, Harold Wilson. This is because Denning is looking into security matters and will need editing before Her Majesty's Stationery Office sends a van-load of copies to the Russian embassy. Macmillan has also been dropping hints that he might like to excise other bits as well, including anywhere public reputations could be damaged simply because an honest man has been named by some publicity-seeking pimp. Wilson has considerable reservations about this kind of trimming, as he has had all along about Denning's power to get to the bottom of stories like the one about the naked nobleman serving dinner in a black mask. While one Harold worries over too much tittle-tattle, the other suspects too many bland disclaimers.

But how will the public take it all, and what state are British morals really in? Your correspondent met few cases of genuine shock at the Ward revelations. Indeed the thing might almost have been shrugged off altogether had not *The Times* (anti-Macmillan and also angered by Labour's over-careful concentration on the security angle) weighed in with the pronouncement that, "It *Is* A Moral Issue." Yet *The Times'* argument that Tory prosperity and the growth of the materialist outlook were somehow at the bottom of lax living was extraordinarily muddled. The old middle-class nodded its head in agreement, but Macmillan himself says acidly (and to applause) that he has no sense of guilt at giving the housewife of the 1950's her first washing machine. While London's prurient dwelt delightedly on such details as Miss Vickie Barrett's (20) announcement that she charges £1 a stroke with whip or cane, the provinces merely had their belief confirmed that London is a sink of iniquity anyway (which, of course, does not stop provincial businessmen from patronizing Soho's dreary striptease and near-beer circuit when they come to town). There are other values involved. Thus your correspondent, attending a Scottish music hall last month, heard no jokes about Miss Keeler but several bitter references to Lord Astor – Ward's aristocratic chum who pointedly did not give evidence on Ward's behalf. This may be one small clue to public feeling.

What has happened is that the revelations of low life above stairs have been tacked on to the perennial debate about adolescent morals, teenage crime, gym-slip mums and pre-marital sex. Daring critics of chastity as a merit in itself have had a rough handling in the press, and the opinion polls are now pumping out statistics which purport to show that wedding before bedding is still the public morality of the majority – whatever they actually do themselves. The puritanical streak did sur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

face during the trial, but chiefly to earn ridicule. Thus the BBC's factual news reports of the trial got a rebuke for using "vile language" from the Free Presbyterian Church; in fact both television channels' early news bulletins (when children were watching) were so bowdlerized and tangential that a man from Mars would have found it hard to know what it was all about. One treasured letter to the editor of a staid provincial morning paper was also symptomatic. It began: "I was refreshed, in fact almost jubilant, to see that at last the nuclear test ban treaty had ousted the Ward trial from the headlines of today's issue. Surely the degrading ways of our teenagers can no longer be blamed on their apathetic parents but on the press in general. . . ."

One's guess is that the public at large enjoyed the Ward trial while it lasted, but that its own opinions and habits were not jolted one way or the other (this also seems true of its political opinions about Macmillan's responsibility for Profumo). Ward's suicide was no matter for public rejoicing by the moralizers – but equally there was little visible support for the protest by a dozen Young Angries (now mainly middle-aged) that Ward was a victim of national hypocrisy.

The serious questions being voiced in the aftermath are about the conduct of the police (who seem to have shown varying zeal in rounding up witnesses: when they didn't want Miss Keeler for one trial she skipped out of the country, and when they did want Miss Rice-Davies they held her to account for her television set); and there are also some anxieties about the way the courts have handled the whole complex of prosecutions and appeals that Miss Keeler's activities set in train. What the public chiefly wants (or so one's greengrocer, maiden aunt and supermarket cashier all say) are the facts, from Lord Denning, about the whole boiling of scandals, suspicions and rumors. There will be disappointment if the report is not mildly lurid; there will be even more if the facts (as seem likely) have not really been unearthed.

ALASTAIR BURNET

"INSTANT MARXISM" IS BECOMING FASHIONABLE

Latin America's Future Leaders

Mexico City

On my last trip to Latin America I met many young people who have become enamored of what might be called "instant Marxism." This Marxism is not the product of reading Marx and Engels, nor even Mariátegui and Aníbal Ponce, the only two Latin American Marxists of intellectual stature. Rather, it is absorbed by osmosis – through conversations, mass-circulation articles, digests of various books. It has no historic context; it knows nothing about the labor movement. These young people take to Marxism the way others do to alcohol, drugs, sex or jazz: as a means of escape. Marxism is the currently fashionable antidote to a troubled conscience. The disorder (and its cure) are found largely among people under 40, especially intellectuals, students and members of the middle-class. The country people and urban workers, less troubled by conscience, do not have much interest in Marx either.

The new Marxists are talkers, not actors. They see that conditions in their countries are, as they say, "untolerable." So they call themselves revolutionaries. But they have neither the talent nor the impulse to actually make revolutions. For a while they defended Castro, who was far away (and whose regime they did not wish for themselves). Pro-Castro sentiments provided status without requiring sacrifice. Attempting to improve the situation in their own countries would have involved risks – losing friends, or even lives.

Recently, especially since the missile crisis last fall, Castro has lost his kick. In his place we have instant Marxism which provides a variety of extremely revolutionary reasons for inertia. To some it appears to justify an all-or-nothing attitude, and since it is impossible to achieve everything, nothing will do. It encourages others to engage in Byzantine discussions, rather than going to the people, educating them, organizing them, helping them produce their own leaders.

Ironically, this new "Marxism" is weaning many people away from Castroism and Communism, people who were in the past considered fellow-travelers. It has offered them a rationale (especially in the dialectical affirmation that stages cannot be skipped) for ceasing to be Castroites while continuing to consider themselves revolutionary. As it becomes more and more apparent that Moscow has lost its chance in Latin America, at least for a generation, the new-style Marxism holds out a way to continue feeling avante garde without boarding a train that is going nowhere.

In traveling through the capitals of Latin America, I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have found that the military is also discovering Marxism. These young officers are not, however, Marxists in a political or social sense. They know nothing of dialectics or surplus value. What interests them is what has come to be called Marxist (really Leninist and Stalinist) "tactics and strategy." This belated discovery springs from several sources. Latin American soldiers have studied the notion of psychological warfare popular in certain French military groups. Some have been influenced by pro-Castro propaganda, especially the speeches of Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and other Cuban Communist leaders (but not, as might be supposed, Che Guevara's manual on guerrilla war). Marxism is on the curriculum of the school for advanced military studies in Peru, and the same is true in certain Argentine Nasserite circles. Theoretically, armies are given instruction in Marxism in order to "know the enemy"; their practical result is that many young officers learn to combat Communism with Communist weapons. Often their enthusiasm for these weapons is greater than their opposition to Communism.

The young men in Latin America's military establishment are today reluctant to become militarists, dictators and oligarchs without an ideological justification. Marxism – or what they assimilate from it and accept as method, all the while decrying the ideology – provides such a justification. If the end justifies the means, if any means can be used to further popular aspirations (agrarian reform, industrialization, the destruction of the oligarchy, effective participation of the masses in the national life), a military regime can also be a "progressive" one. In addition, Latin American officers are constantly exposed to literature, reports and commentaries on the development of the Soviet industrial complex and its repercussions on Soviet military might. Naturally, they envy the position of the military in the USSR – and perhaps also in Cuba.

Knowing all this, we can project an archetypal Latin American story for the near future. The young Nasserite military men, and the middle-class technocrats, students and intellectuals, will be unable to achieve reform without opposing vested interests. To overcome this resistance they will turn to the masses. But the masses, skeptical and weary of militarism, will rally only if the military knows how to mobilize them and provide them with a mystique.

To do all this, the military and the impatient technocrats must call for help from those who, alone in Latin America, know how to organize, regiment and brutalize the masses: the Communists. And after a few decrees and manifestations, the Communists will become the real masters of regimes whose militarists and technicians are obsessed by efficiency and ignore ideology. Following the masses' inevitable disillusion, the new dictators will use the techniques of mass-manipulation not to sustain enthusiasm but rather to silence protests and keep the people under control.

The new pseudo-Marxism of Latin America's youth and young military men thus suggests the rise of a Latin American brand of Nasserism. An exaggeration perhaps? Let us see whether this is not borne out.

Fascism has been called history's punishment for the failure of the labor movement. In the same way, one might say that the dictatorship of the technocrats or of the impatient soldiers is history's punishment for the failure of the democratic left in Latin America.

Latin America's democratic, revolutionary left had as its rationale the destruction of the oligarchy and the neutralization of the military. Yet it constantly protests that the oligarchy is too strong to eliminate by democratic means. But in that case the democrats have failed. This failure, like all others, must be paid for. Some years ago the price was the praetorian demagogy of Peron and other dictators. Today the price might well be the dictatorship of the impatient technicians.

What is it in Latin America that brings about these repeated failures, and what is behind them? My impression, gained from visits, observation of everyday life, conversations and reading, is that, with certain exceptions (Peru, Venezuela, Mexico at one time), the supposedly revolutionary democratic movements have actually been no more than humane offshoots of the oligarchy. When they confront the oligarchy in the political arena, they have not sought to eliminate it socially, nor would they have known how to do so if they had tried. Except in Mexico, the "revolutionaries" of Latin America, whatever their methods and however good their intentions, have generally been as paternalistic as the dictators. The people have never felt themselves to be represented by one or the other, except in time of high emotional tension.

Of Lincoln's principles, these Latin revolutionaries have discarded all but one: government *for* the people. They have never sought government *of* or *by* the people. It is therefore not surprising that in Latin America politics is of interest only to an infinitesimal minority, that in Latin America "public opinion" means nothing more than a small segment of the urban population.

Torn between the fear of failure and the fear of the masses, Latin American democrats have always preferred failure. Failure places them in the comfortable role of victims and gives them an apparent right of recrimination. Success, on the other hand, would call for the acceptance of stern responsibilities which, owing to their background and training, the democratic "revolutionaries" are ill prepared to face. Latin American military technocracy is the punishment for their weakness, for their intellectual cowardice, for their lack of political imagination, for their social conformity.

Victor Alba

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoadley's Test Case in Indiana

Thomas A. Hoadley is, among other things, the public prosecutor of Monroe County, Indiana, home of Indiana University. Last May 1, he secured an indictment from a Monroe County Grand Jury charging three Indiana University students with violation of the 1951 Indiana Anti-Communism Statute, which makes it a crime to "assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the Government of the United States or of the State of Indiana should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means."

Hoadley's alarm dates back to the Cuban crisis last fall, when a group of Indiana students formed the "Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose US Aggression" and announced that they would hold a protest demonstration. The Indiana Administration immediately called on the student body to ignore the Committee. "The most effective way to deal with minorities with whom we disagree in the present kind of situation," said President Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., "is to ignore them completely."

Still, over 1,000 students showed up at the demonstration. Although police were present at all times, members of the Committee, including the girls, were pushed, shoved, punched and kicked. When the Reverend Paul Killinger, Unitarian Minister in Bloomington, asked a campus policeman why he wasn't protecting the demonstrators, the policeman replied that he was only there to protect the liberties of "Americans." When a faculty member was kicked, shoved and thrown against a car, policemen again stood by. "He shouldn't be here," said one. And when clergy, faculty and students wrote letters protesting the violence, the *Indiana Daily Student* refused to print them.

Three months later, on January 15, Hoadley dismissed charges against two non-students, arrested for "assault and battery" and "interfering with a police officer"; his aim was "to clear the way" for a Grand Jury investigation into the "possible involvement" of the Young Socialist Alliance in the demonstration. On February 18, citing the Anti-Communism Act, he called upon the University to withdraw its recognition of YSA. The University rejected this demand, and the YSA issued a brief comment: "The Young Socialist Alliance states unequivocally that it does not advocate and never has advocated the violent overthrow of the government."

Not satisfied with such replies, Hoadley announced that his Grand Jury would now consider the constitutionality of the YSA; he said he would take the case to the Supreme Court – "if necessary." (Such an appeal would probably not serve Hoadley's purpose, however, for in 1956 and 1957 the Supreme Court declared statutes similar to the Indiana Anti-Communism Act unconstitutional.)

The Grand Jury indicted the three officers of the YSA on May 1. The indictment, however, made no mention of the Cuban Demonstration. Rather, it charged the three officers with participating, "by their presence, aid or instigation" in a March 25 meeting at which Leroy McRea, national secretary of YSA, had spoken about the Negroes of the delta area of Mississippi. In his speech, McRea had doubted whether Negroes there could secure equal rights by non-violent methods.

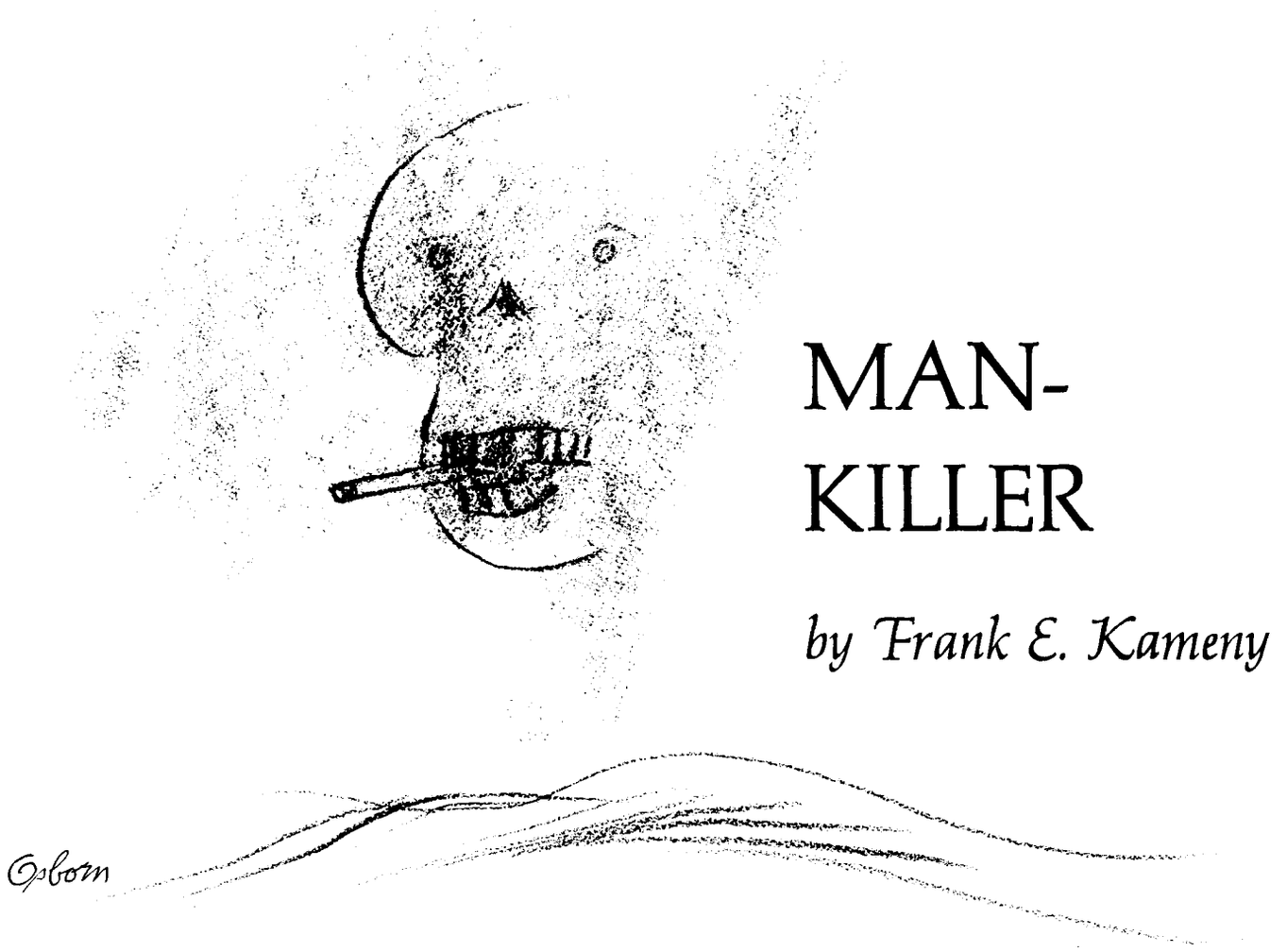
Hoadley called the Grand Jury "courageous," and told the press, "we want only to stamp out Communism and what it stands for before it gets a foothold here." Then came his *coup de grace*. He said that because the Grand Jury could not obtain a list of YSA members, they could not cross-check the names against a list compiled in his own narcotics investigation "to determine to what extent, if any, marijuana is used to recruit new members in the YSA." (This referred to an indictment he had previously obtained of an Indiana University girl for possession of marijuana. Talking to an AP reporter, Hoadley had linked her to the YSA, although her membership has been denied by all concerned and Hoadley offered no evidence to the contrary.).

The Cuban crisis is over, and the Indiana Administration and faculty are resisting Hoadley's invasion. One hundred and forty-two professors bought a large ad in the town newspaper supporting the three students, the local AAUP issued a statement intended to blunt Mr. Hoadley's charge, and the Administration rejected pleas to revoke recognition of YSA or to suspend the three students. A state judge threw out on June 28 the Monroe County Grand Jury's indictment of the students on the grounds that it lacked clarity. Hoadley obtained a second indictment on July 18, however, with slightly different wording.

Ultimately, the three are almost certain to be acquitted. But an acquittal will hardly repay these students for the time and money they have had to invest in the case. One has already had to drop out of school. Nor will an acquittal necessarily end Hoadley's harassment of the University, or reverse the conclusion of a great many students that only Hoadley's brand of "conservatism" is really "safe." When the case first won national attention the Student Senate of Indiana University hastened to put itself on record as "opposed" to the socialist minority which was bringing their school into disrepute.

JAY NEUGEBOREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



MAN-KILLER

by Frank E. Kameny

Marijuana addiction affects a paltry several thousand people, at most. That it has any seriously undesirable effects is still open to question. Yet the grower, the distributor, and the smoker – even the mere possessor – of marijuana are subject to savage legal penalties.

Tobacco addiction, on the other hand, affects tens of millions in this country alone. Its effects, in the long run, seem to be lethal to a significantly high percentage of addicts, and, in a greater or lesser degree, disabling to many more. Yet not only are cigarettes freely and lawfully sold, widely advertised and socially acceptable, but any serious attempts even to require that the public be warned of the dangers of smoking are rather effectively scotched by a mixture of public apathy and political pressure.

We have heard in recent years of the apparent causal relationship between tobacco smoking (especially cigarette smoking) and cancer (especially, but by no means only, lung cancer), as well as other ills and ailments. The tobacco industry has protested that the case calls for a Scotch verdict of "not proven," and that until proven, there is no need to alarm the public, possibly falsely, or to deprive it of its pleasures. Simultaneously, the industry has tacitly recognized the health factor in smoking by introducing filters and then improved filters, longer cigarettes (in lieu of, or to supplement filters) and by engaging in extensive attempts to reduce the amount of tars and nicotine (apparently the chief offenders) in tobacco smoke.

Because, in part, of the economic interests involved – governmental as well as private (tobacco taxes currently run to some three billion dollars, annually, in this country) – the situation has been badly obscured by claims and counterclaims, by suppression or general unavailability of reliable information. All of us ought to lift our hats, therefore, to the Consumers Union, which recently published a "Report on Smoking and the Public Interest" by Ruth and Edward Brecher, Arthur Herzog, Walter Goodman, Gerald Walker and the editors of *Consumer Reports*. That Report gives not merely the scientific facts but a careful evaluation of them, plus a full account of the tobacco industry's reaction, the public's, and that of various agencies and elements of constituted authority, to the rapidly-growing body of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evidence indicating that smoking has more than casually undesirable effects on health.

The first seven chapters deal with the medical evidence. Summaries are presented of the results of autopsies performed at various hospitals. The results differ somewhat in precise percentages, but the implication in all cases is the same and is unmistakable. The largest sample, 14,000 autopsies performed at the University of Michigan between 1895 and 1954, shows a rise from 0.2 percent of lung cancer cases at the start of the period, to 4.2 percent at the close. These are patients who died in hospitals. Since the tissue samples used were preserved, this increase does not simply represent, as some apologists for smoking would have us believe, an improvement in diagnostic technique.

The actual number of deaths attributed to lung cancer in 1914 was only 371; in 1960, it was 36,320. This, of course, far outweighs the population increase in the same period, as well as the improvement in diagnostic techniques and the increased completeness of records. Lung cancer has progressed from the status of a rare disease to that of an epidemic.

It is not possible to present here the full body of evidence, which includes the marked differential between lung cancer rates in men and in women, the almost total lack of lung cancer in the non-smoking Seventh Day Adventists and in other non-smokers, the correlation between the appearance in Iceland of lung cancer at a much later date than elsewhere and the unpopularity of smoking there, prior to 1940.

Not Just the Lungs

The irrefutable case for a cause-and-effect relationship between tobacco smoking and lung cancer consists not only of simple post-mortem examinations, but of studies of the pre-cancerous pathological changes produced in lung tissues by smoking. And the story does not stop there. There seems to be clear evidence for a relationship between smoking and cancer elsewhere than in the lungs: lips, mouth, tongue, etc., as well as at sites not directly related to smoking; other respiratory and pulmonary diseases; ulcers; a variety of circulatory diseases, including coronary artery disease, strokes, aneurysms, Buerger's disease; cirrhosis of the liver; and that general lessening of physical well-being experienced by any heavy smoker.

That smoking is truly an addiction for many people is dramatically demonstrated by the story of Sigmund Freud's unsuccessful attempts to stop smoking over 45 increasingly miserable years during which he suffered from steadily worsening cardiac trouble and cancers of the mouth and jaw, leading ultimately to the removal of his entire jaw and, finally, to his death from cancer unquestionably resulting from his smoking.

Filters do not remove sufficient tar and nicotine to lessen the danger of cancer; they often result in an increase in the number of cigarettes smoked, or in smoking to a shorter butt-length, thereby cancelling out, or even over-compensating for, the gain introduced by the filter; they are of little help in some of the other ills connected with smoking (Buerger's disease, emphysema, etc.) .

The reaction of the tobacco industry to the overwhelming mass of evidence demonstrating the harmful effects of smoking has been evasive to the point of irresponsibility. Despite mounting and uncontestable evidence for the relationship between lung cancer and smoking, advertising intended to gain converts to smoking – not only among adults, but among teenagers and college students – has made it more likely that a million children now of school age may die of lung cancer. The Consumers Union Report quotes an advertising director as saying, "We will not direct advertising primarily to those under the age of eighteen. Anybody over eighteen is fair game." But the difficulty of this doctrine, as the Report notes, "is that an ad which has an impact on a nineteen-year-old smoker cannot be depended upon to leave a fifteen-year-old nonsmoker unmoved."

In 1953 in face of mounting criticism, the major cigarette manufacturers banded together to form the Tobacco Industry Research Committee (TIRC), ostensibly to determine and publicize factual reports on the matter. But the TIRC has simply served to minimize the importance, and often to question the truth, of any new findings relating smoking to lung cancer.

The federal government has not been notably responsive. The Federal Trade Commission has murmured and mumbled since 1942, all of it ineffectual. Attempts to elicit intervention by Congress have failed to the extent that a House Subcommittee which turned in an unfavorable report on cigarette advertising was "reorganized out of business." Much the same has been true at the state level.

Outside this country, rather more has been accomplished. In Great Britain, Denmark and Russia public campaigns to discourage smoking, especially among the young, have been waged with some success. In some instances, TV advertising of cigarettes was stopped or restricted.

Proposals have been made that cigarettes be taxed according to the amount of tars and nicotine present in them. As might be expected, such legislation has met with little favor. So we go on poisoning ourselves. Cigarette sales mount, and what is to be done?

The "Report on Smoking and the Public Interest" can be purchased from Consumers Union, Mt. Vernon, New York: $3.50 in hard cover and $1.50 in soft cover.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"There Is No There There"

by Wolf Von Eckardt

Whatever sort of age this is – atomic, space, packaging or of unreason – it is also the age of the office. There are now more white collar than industrial workers. Their places of work are the predominant expression of our architecture, just as Greek temples, Roman arenas, medieval cathedrals and Renaissance palaces were the architectural expressions of their respective ages.

In the old hierarchy of buildings the church would rise above the civic building and the civic building would be more imposing than the residence. Now the office towers dwarf all else in the city and what fountains, statuary or other art we allow ourselves in public are lavished on them. Office buildings alone give our cities their focal point and image. And since they are largely alike, our cities are largely alike.

From the distance, these blasphemous, domineering structures converge into a collective beauty of a kind Athens or Chartres never knew. Sonnets have been written about the skyline of Manhattan and, driving along the expressway on a clear day, even distant Kansas City deserves one.

But the beauty is only from afar. As we enter the city we find that the skyscrapers are unimaginatively planted on our pedantic gridiron street pattern. From the resulting canyons we cannot grasp their scale.

They are, however, as distinctly American as the skyline they form. Skyscrapers are William Le Baron Jenny's innovation, first seen in the Home Insurance Building, Chicago, AD 1885. Rather than letting his walls carry the load of the floors and roof, Jenny let a steel frame do the job. The walls became mere curtains to keep out the weather. His steel cage could rise just about as high as Elisha G. Otis' invention, the elevator, would take you.

American steel cage and curtain wall construction have made an impact on world architecture as decisive as Classic columns and pediments, Gothic arches and buttresses and Renaissance façades. In the hands of a few masters, leading among them Mies van de Rohe, the construction technique has produced some great architecture. But it is an egotistic architecture that gets along only with its own kind. It doesn't blend, it arrogantly disdains all building before it. The modern structures that are sprinkled between old ones in our messy cities therefore further disrupt all visual harmony and order. The sharp variations in height and worst of all the untidy parking lots between buildings emphasize the confusion. Only where it is massed in pleasant groups and takes up a block or two in splendid isolation, as in Rockefeller Center, for instance, has modern architecture made an aesthetic contribution to the city, to urban design.

To make matters worse, curtain wall architecture, as Mies van de Rohe and a few others have perfected it, is easy to imitate and to jazz up. In their effort to overcome the predominance of the office in our cities, the architectural hacks recklessly stuff anything that comes their way into the same old steel cages – stores, churches, museums, schools, libraries. The gaudy, colored enamel or stone-veneer curtains just wrap up the tedium. Nor do fancy, grilly and lacy wrapping help very often. Gaudiness *en masse* only emphasizes monotony. Los Angeles probably has the most brightly gift-wrapped buildings of them all. Looking down Wilshire Boulevard is like being trapped with a very noisy juke box. It's a continuous stream of visual rock-'n'-roll.

A year or two ago, it looked for a moment as though there was salvation in reinforced concrete, which can be sculptured and molded into just about any form. Great feats of engineering and marvelously expressive architecture, like Eero Saarinen's Dulles Airport in Washington, have been accomplished in this medium. The idea was that the flat-chested curtain wall structures would form the calm backdrop to our urban life and that a few sculptural concrete buildings would signify the

This is the second of six articles on urban renewal; others will deal with the racial aspect of renewal in slums, the rehabilitation of decaying neighborhoods, the failure of urban planning, and possible ways to improve urban renewal programs. During the three months he was preparing these reports for The New Republic WOLF VON ECKARDT *visited Boston, Providence, New Haven, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and Los Angeles.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exceptional importance and spiritual value of their purpose. A leading advocate of this idea is Paul Rudolph, dean of architecture at Yale. No sooner had he uttered it, than he proceeded to build his masterpiece in sinuous, rich and vigorous architectural sculpture – a building that overwhelms its neighbors, including a rather charming, pseudo-Colonial church across the street. Yet it is nothing but a parking garage located in downtown New Haven. It is also, I fear, a squelcher of the "noble foreground" architecture notion. As long as even the best of our architects refuse to submit to humbleness and discipline, as long as they continue to strive mainly for originality and attention, our cities will remain a visual din, dulling the senses of their captive audience as does the constant drone of piped music in waiting rooms. No one listens. There is no pause, no rhythm, no drama. As Gertrude Stein has put it about one of our cities, "There is no there there."

Rockefeller Center, however, was the beginning of a more hopeful urban design. Begun in 1931 by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to concentrate the creeping uptown movement of business, it now numbers sixteen buildings of varying size but harmonious appearance. The Depression crushed the ambition to make it more than a business center by including an opera house and music auditorium along with Radio City Music Hall. But despite the Depression, Rockefeller Center was relatively generous with expensive land and thereby the first contribution skyscraper architecture has made to the cityscape on the ground. It yielded us beautifully designated space, gaily alive with fountains and cascades, well-tended flower beds, seats and a sunken plaza which serves as an open air restaurant in summer and an ice skating rink in winter. And by barring vehicles, this mall and plaza became the first pedestrian oasis in the city.

The Plan for Fort Worth

Such truly urban centers, oases for people who walk, stroll and loiter in the shadows of carefully grouped skyscrapers, are urban renewal's most substantial and welcome contribution to the city. They require, of course, large tracts of downtown land, usually parcelled up by hundreds of different owners, which can be assembled for one cohesive purpose only with the help of a Rockefeller or the federal treasury. This explains why it took almost three decades for the Rockefeller Center idea to be emulated.

But aside from finances, no one really quite caught on to the Rockefeller Center idea, especially its relief from automobile traffic, until Dutch planners, during the Nazi occupation, incorporated it in their plans for rebuilding Rotterdam, which the Luftwaffe had destroyed. Whether this is what influenced him or not, the American architect, Victor Gruen, extended the idea of pedestrian malls and plazas in his proposal for downtown Fort Worth, Texas. Gruen's plan, published in 1956, called for encircling the Fort Worth business district with automobile approaches which would walk into the inner city or use slow-moving electric vehicles. Goods and services, including taxis and buses, were to circulate at basement level through tunnels. There were to be a few new cultural and civic buildings, but most of the old buildings were to be left standing. Their streets were to be enhanced with benches, greenery and kiosks and given over to the enjoyment of people. The plan would help business for, as Gruen has said, not even a Cadillac has ever bought a single piece of merchandise.

The Fort Worth plan was not carried out, mainly because the local parking lot operators, a powerful enemy of pedestrians in any city, opposed it violently. But it is, as someone observed, the only unborn baby who had hundreds of grandchildren.

Denver's Mile High Center is among the earliest ones. Philadelphia's Penn Center is almost completed. Baltimore's Charles Center has a new building by Mies van der Rohe but is largely still a very promising hole in the ground. But the most exciting and pleasing, perhaps, is Hartford's Constitution Plaza.

Five years ago Constitution Plaza was a predominantly Italian slum area called Front Market. Now it is a platform island for pedestrians, spanning three city blocks on which eight buildings, of various sizes and design, cluster in an irregular arrangement. Beneath the platform are parking garages for 1,800 cars. The two largest buildings, designed by Kahn & Jacobs and Emery Roth, respectively, and each about twenty stories high, are neat and straight-forward examples of the mid-century curtain wall office building. The low, but prominently located Broadcast House is typical of the current effort to sweeten the severity of this style to the point where it is saccharine. The hotel, designed by Curtis and Davis, represents the best and most restrained of our more sculptural reinforced concrete architecture. And the most dominant structure, the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance building, is an unusually successful architectural stunt. It was designed by Harrison and Abramovitz (the architects who also built New York's new Philharmonic Hall among many other distinguished buildings). Resting on stilts, which could be a little higher, the ten-story Phoenix is a sharply pointed, narrow ellipse in plan, which, in elevation, has a taut skin of dark glass. In all its utter simplicity, it looks somewhat like the huge hull of a mysterious, ephemeral, crystal ship and you look and blink, and look again to believe it.

Charles DuBose, the coordinating architect for the Hartford project, has managed to combine these divergent architectural elements into a wonderfully lively

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and expressive arrangement. And the design of the spacious plaza which flows between and around the buildings, bridges the streets, which are rich with forests of potted trees and other greenery, a fountain, a clock tower, a variety of different pavements and ever-changing vistas, is a sheer delight. It is the work of Sasaki, Walker and Associates, America's leading landscape architects.

A sad fault of Constitution Plaza is that its victory over the automobile is only limited. It might easily be mirrored in the Connecticut River, a stone's throw to the south. Instead, it is enmeshed in the web of elevated expressways which totally cut it and the rest of the city off from the waterfront. You have to look at the map to discover that Hartford even has a river.

Constitution Plaza is, nevertheless, so thoroughly lovely that even as construction work was still going on, I found strollers and admirers climbing all over it. But that was an exceptionally beautiful summer day and I wonder how bustling, attractive and truly urban the plaza will be at night. Philadelphia's Penn Center I found populated during the day only with very purposeful people who rushed to their desks or the subway. At night it was empty. The crowd was all ambling up and down the movie awnings of adjoining Market Street. Girls laughed at the puppies playing in a pet shop window, young men avidly studied the unclad ladies on the magazine covers and the movie posters on display, and people milled around the bars and penny arcades. Market Street is a bit on the seamy side. But there are things and people to see and anything might happen. There is not much to see in the windows of the swanky and aseptic airline or stockbrokers' offices of the Penn Center buildings.

Once Penn Center's open air restaurants and ice skating rink are in operation the place may have more life. But its aseptic, stuffy quality is shared by all the rest of our new urban centers. Open spaces and plazas are not enough. New York's famous Lever House, for instance, has a lovely court, open to the street. But it is deserted. It leads from nowhere to nowhere, with nothing but some shrubs in-between. And even the most elegantly respectable areas of the city need a touch of the seamy as the human body needs germs. Rockefeller Center could overcome the haughtiness of its airlines and expensive restaurant because there is not only Fifth but also Sixth Avenue, and because New York is New York. Rotterdam's cheerful Lijnbaan solved the problem by including nearly a hundred small shops of all kinds and a touch of amusement park attractions. Colorful parrots, perched on their rods, chatter as you stroll along, and there are inexpensive restaurants and kiosks for food and news.

But the main reason for Lijnbaan's bustling urbanity, and that of all the new parts of Rotterdam for that matter, is that apartment buildings are interspersed with high-rise office buildings. People not only shop and work, but also live there. The downtown center is within walking distance of the entire family and gathers into it all the various people who used to gather around the medieval cathedrals and Renaissance palaces – the lawyers and doctors and dentists and all the rest of the good citizens that make a city stable and respectable.

In America, the offices and commercial enterprises have tended to push apartment buildings out of the downtown area, claiming it almost entirely for themselves. The recent transformation of New York's Park Avenue from a posh residential boulevard to a canyon of corporation palaces was typical. This trend is now being reversed. Several of the most significant urban renewal projects in the country bring apartments and townhouses again into close proximity of the office, though rarely as happily blended in with them as in Rotterdam. Washington's new Southwest residential area, for instance, will have office buildings in its midst. And – an almost revolutionary departure from American living habits – these office buildings will also contain stores and even apartments to give the area life at all hours.

A City of Taste

The bold $85 million Golden Gateway project on the tip of downtown San Francisco, on the north side of Market Street, also puts apartments, offices and commercial uses together. Here the old produce market had to give way, but San Francisco's energetic Redevelopment Agency helped to provide a new one at a location which will benefit both the merchants and the city.

At the time of my visit, earlier this summer, I saw only the construction fence, around the huge excavation that will be the Golden Gateway, and a quaint old arch, which is the only thing left on its site. Both are symbolic of the exceptional spirit in which San Francisco approaches its renewal.

It is a spirit more sophisticated than the words "civic pride" would denote and as worldly as it is touchingly parochial. Good architecture and good food really matter in San Francisco. It is, I believe, the only city in the US which has rejected further expressways in favor of public transportation. It is also the only city in open, angry rebellion against all-digit telephone dialing.

The construction fence at the Golden Gateway, instead of being made of the old doors from demolished buildings, was designed and decorated with care and considerable originality. It provided not only peepholes but shelter for sidewalk superintendents. The archway, left over from the now demolished Colombo Market, will be retained as a whimsical memento of the past. It is surely no great architectural relic, but after some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

study, was found to be the only worthy one. Along with it, some cobblestones salvaged from the torn up streets, and old cast iron columns from the market will also be used in the new development.

To judge from the models, the Golden Gateway will live up to the tradition of excellence in Bay Area architecture which, in turn, is highly conscious of the fabulous beauty of its natural setting. Between the towers, slabs and townhouses, there will be lavishly landscaped elevated walkways and plazas. On the street level, below, are arcaded shops and parking. The Renewal Agency's report gives as much space to the project's artistic embellishments – an international competition for the main sculpture was won by the Parisian Francois Stahy – than to the usual budget figures. This, too, could only happen in San Francisco.

There is no uniform procedure by which urban renewal agencies sell the land they have acquired and cleared to private developers with the assurance that their plans and purposes are met. The city fathers inevitably insist that the land be sold to the highest bidder. The renewers, on the other hand, want to be sure of good architects and good design for the new buildings. In the nation's capital, surprisingly, the renewers won out, though Congress intermittently scowls at them for it. They fixed the price for their redevelopment land on the basis of appraisals and then invited the builders to compete solely on the merits of the designs their architects prepared for them. A panel of architects assisted the authorities with the judgment. Other cities negotiate with developers. Still others, like St. Louis, sell their land to the highest bidder, regardless of design. San Francisco ventured a combination of both methods and got into quite a flurry. The design its very distinguished architectural jury favored was, of course, not that of the highest bidder. In the end, changes and compromises were worked out with entirely plausible results. Downtown land in San Francisco is so highly desirable for real estate entrepreneurs that they will go to considerable lengths and even the very best architects, to get it.

"There's a Lot of Romance in Urban Renewal"

St. Louis, however, is one of the cities which has had some difficulty disposing of the land it acquired by eminent domain. Its city fathers, furthermore, wanted to keep renewal a local deal and rejected the Zeckendorfs and other big-time out-of-towners. Their suspicion is understandable. Since John Jacob Astor made his fortunes on the pastures of Manhattan, our giant real estate speculators have not always been overly concerned with the public interest. But, regardless of how much money William Zeckendorf and the handful of other big developers of our time make or lose, there is no question that the bigger the builder, the more competent and more tasteful the building. Good planning, good architecture and good art have become a matter of prestige with the big boys who build the downtown centers and the large luxury apartment developments. They have become the Maecenas of our cities.

"There's a lot of romance in urban renewal," an enterprising young developer told me. "There's no killing in it, just a nice, fair profit at little risk. It takes some expenditures to get your fishing license, such as a good architectural design that will dazzle the renewal authorities. But the way the government has set up the financing terms, no one has ever foreclosed."

The local authorities and developers who endeavor to renew St. Louis haven't foreclosed either. But in Mill Creek Valley, which, years after its hundred slum blocks were cleared, is still largely a desert, they have succeeded in putting up a disorganized array of buildings of unsurpassable mediocrity. Lately James Scheuer, with his talented architect, Chloethiel Woodard Smith, has come to the rescue of St. Louis on one residential project. But a unique planning opportunity was sadly muffed. Mill Creek is at the end of what should be the great, lively axis leading to Eero Saarinen's splendid arch, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, as the Champs-Élysées leads to the Arc de Triomphe. But the people of St. Louis chose otherwise. The grandeur of the arch will expire in a whimper of confusion. "There is no there there" at all.

Healthy Cities

"If we do not wish our downtowns to become ghost towns, we have to reinject quality into the city. How can this be achieved? Firstly, we have to realize that a city must be a many-purpose place. If, as so many of our downtown areas tend to do, it winds up being only a place to work, then it is not a city, but just a factory – and not a very efficient one, either. A city must have diversity and variety. It is supposed to represent the finest in many fields. It must have the best stores, the best hotels, the best restaurants, the prestige office buildings, the highest types of civic administration, the best theaters and other cultural and recreational facilities. But it also must have desirable living quarters to attract and hold its own resident population – without which it would be alive only eight hours a day and five days a week. Only by being a complete expression of all the diverse human interests and activities can the city work: leave out of the composite any of the ingredients – residing or administration or the museums – and you undermine the health of the city."

– VICTOR GRUEN
architect and city planner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Protecting the Public

How "Independent" Is the FPC?

by James Ridgeway

More than seven months have passed since Howard Morgan sent his letter to President Kennedy attacking the Federal Power Commission for its failure to protect the public interest and asking that the President not reappoint him Commissioner. It has taken the White House that long to find a replacement – David F. Black, a Democrat from Washington – and Morgan now has returned home to his Oregon ranch.

"Ordinary men," Morgan had written the President, in obvious reference to his fellow commissioners, "yield too quickly to the present-day urge toward conformity, timidity and personal security." Shortly after the letter was made public in January, the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight was summoned to investigate Morgan's accusations. If true, they could prove particularly embarrassing to the Administration, for in the first months after his election Mr. Kennedy closely associated himself with a clean-up of the regulatory agencies which had spawned the Sherman Adams-Bernard Goldfine scandal. Moreover, to have such accusations lodged against the FPC, the one "independent" regulatory agency staffed at the top entirely with Kennedy appointees was especially annoying.

Representative Oren Harris' subcommittee was unable to wring much in the way of substantiation from Morgan, whose evasiveness caused William L. Springer (R, Ill.) to accuse him of trying to smear his fellow commissioners by insinuation. "This," he said, "is McCarthyism at its worst."

Morgan was followed to the witness table by Joseph Swidler, the former counsel for TVA who is the present chairman of the Commission. "Now, I think this record of accomplishments would speak for itself if it were not for Mr. Morgan's charges," he said of the Commission's work. "It is a hard fact, Mr. Chairman, that the steady, day-to-day grind of work, the opinions on which we labor so hard, get small attention and the easy challenge, the figure launched off the cuff, will get a headline. The adjective pulled out of a hat will be repeated over and over again, especially if it is used in so ambiguous a way that people have trouble figuring out just what is intended."

Swidler showed how the Commission had been "revitalized" under his direction. He quoted James Landis in his 1960 report on regulatory agencies to the President: "The Federal Power Commission without question represents the outstanding example in the federal government of the breakdown of the administrative process." But after watching the Kennedy-appointed Commission, Landis in February of 1962 was declaring that the attitude of the new Commission "is one of a readiness to meet these challenges and the intention to apply a Herculean effort in doing so."

Indeed, Swidler's specific documentation of regulation in both the electric power industry (the largest in the country) and the natural gas industry (the sixth largest) proved ruinous to Morgan's general and unsubstantiated accusations. Swidler demonstrated how the Commission had reorganized its staff and streamlined procedures. The huge backlog of natural gas cases had been whittled down; hundreds of millions of dollars had been refunded to consumers; rates had been slashed. Surveys to increase efficiency and economies in the electric power industry had been begun.

"Now, I am frank to say," Swidler declared, referring to Morgan's letter to Kennedy, "that I doubt that this will help the President, and I am not at all certain that it was intended to do so. I think the people who read it knew that it was not an honest letter, that it was not intended to help, that it was intended to embarrass both the President and his fellow commissioners."

In fact, the embarrassment to the Administration was minimal. For its part, the Harris subcommittee adroitly avoided any thorough investigation of the Commission which may or may not have something to do with the fact that Congressman Harris comes from Arkansas and is regarded as a powerful spokesman for the natural gas lobby. Had the committee probed further into Commission activities it might have found some of them, as described below, to be most peculiar.

Swidler was particularly irked by Morgan's frequent and tart dissents to Commission decisions: "I think he was trying to get maximum publicity and mileage and create the most problems for his fellow commissioners in those dissents." It was not that Swidler wished to limit the right of dissent, but there was a line of "pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

priety" beyond which one did not go. "What I object to, sir," he told John Moss (D, Calif.), a member of the Harris subcommittee, "is the lack of appreciation that he is a part of the Commission and that he can destroy, and that by challenging the integrity of his colleagues, he can leave us the rubble to clear up when he goes back to Oregon."

A Meeting at The White House

In March of 1962 Morgan had engaged his fellow commissioners in spirited argument over the Pacific Power & Light Co.'s request for permission to issue stocks and bonds whose proceeds in part would be used for construction of a 110-mile transmission line between the federal Bonneville dam system in Oregon and the power scarce markets of California. This transmission line would parallel a similar project then under consideration by the Interior Department. Morgan suspected Pacific Power & Light Co. of trying to forestall the public line by confronting the Interior Department and the Congress with a *fait accompli* before they had a chance to act. The Commission, however, granted the power company's request; Morgan dissented sharply.

"This seemingly routine financial matter," Morgan wrote, "decided without a hearing and upon the basis of applicant's representations and assertions alone, actually is deeply involved in a controversy which has been raging with increasing intensity for nearly 15 years. It is the most important matter affecting the people of Washington, Oregon and California to come before the Commission during the incumbency of any of its present members. In its ultimate implications this issue is perhaps as important to the states of the Pacific Northwest as any development since construction of the first federal main-stream dam across the Columbia more than 25 years ago." But who would know this, he asked, from a reading of the Commission's notice of application which neglected to mention how the moneys from the sale of Pacific Power & Light securities were to be spent. The Commission was not fulfilling its role under the Federal Power Act in determining whether the line was compatible with the public interest. Indeed, the Commission had not bothered to collect the necessary information, the period of public notice was unreasonably short, and the Commission had confronted the public with "a pointed and obdurate refusal to ask the necessary questions."

In granting the power company's request, however, the Commission said that Congress alone could arbitrate the competing claims of private and public power. Congress could, of course, expressly delegate this authority to the Commission, but it had not yet done so.

Neither the Commission's original notice of Pacific Power & Light's application nor its final order authorizing the sale, revealed that part of the proceeds were to be used for the construction of an Oregon-California transmission line. A number of Western states which opposed construction of any transmission line without protective legislation first, presumably, would have wanted to know what the argument within the FPC was all about. They might have wished to file exceptions to the order in the 30-day protest period following its release. But without publication of the dissent they would have no inkling of what was about to happen; the 30-day period would have slipped by unnoticed.

Morgan's dissent was ready for publication April 3, but the Commission intended to hold it for release at the same time of the majority opinion. (As it turned out, the majority opinion was published April 17.) Fearful of delay, Morgan personally sent out 50 copies of his dissent. Subsequent pressure from Congress then forced the Commission to release the dissent for general distribution on April 12. Even by that time, half of the 30-day protest period had expired without interested parties having available either the Morgan dissent or the majority opinion.

Morgan's role in the Pacific Power & Light case and the ensuing embarrassment to the Commission of being accused of "suppressing" a dissent must have been a moment of high irritation to Swidler. But the matter died down and later that spring the entire Commission went off to Oregon to examine the Bonneville dam system. It was a surprise, therefore, when on his return to Washington Morgan was informed by his secretary that the White House wanted to see him.

On July 9, Morgan says, he met there with Lee White Assistant Special Counsel to the President, and Ralph Dungan, Special Assistant to the President, who handle liaison between the White House and the Federal Power Commission. Morgan recounts the conversation: "I said I understood they wanted to talk to me and what was it they wanted to talk about. They said they were very concerned about the Federal Power Commission and why couldn't it operate in a more orderly manner. Why five appointees of the President couldn't transact business in a quiet and orderly fashion. They referred to the Pacific Power & Light case. Why wasn't the dissent issued at the same time as the order. I explained and asked if they had read the order or the opinion. No, they had not. They weren't interested in reading it. They just wanted things to be a little quieter and more orderly over there. I said I felt that in this case the issues were so important the Commission had virtually repealed a section of the Act [The Federal Power Act], and that the Commission's work was so damaging I was considering writing a second dissent. Would they be happier if I did not offer dissents? No, no, they didn't mean that."

In recalling this conversation, Lee White says there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was no intent on the Administration's part that Morgan should stop dissenting. Unanimous decisions at the Commission certainly were not a goal to be strived for. The talk with Morgan was occasioned, he says, because of unseemly disputes over administrative procedures at the Commission. Moreover, "all over town, there was talk of personalities."

Since the talk "all over town" concerned a running feud between Morgan and Swidler and since Swidler's particular objection to Morgan was his minority opinions, it is rather difficult to know what course White was suggesting for Morgan, if it were not to stop issuing strong dissents.

Later in July, the White House had another piece of business with the Commission. A memorandum from Lee White, dated July 21, 1962, and addressed to Chairman Swidler, said in full: "In attempting to review what this Administration has done that might be described as pro-business, it would be useful to have any items in which the Federal Power Commission has been involved that fall into that category."

That same month, Roger Blough was still in the news; the sharp break in stock prices was in everyone's minds; much of the business community was obsessed with the idea that the Administration was out to do it in. And it was in this setting, according to Lee White, that the Administration sent out these requests to a number of agencies to "get some sort of reading as to whether the criticism was warranted." Had they seen it, nervous businessmen would have been reassured by Swidler's three-page reply to Lee White.

Dated August 9, 1962, Swidler's letter said: "The new revitalized regulatory atmosphere created by the Federal Power Commission during the past year, while neither pro-business nor anti-business, has been praised generally by industry leaders as something which can greatly benefit the regulated companies, their customers, and investors."

Much of the new confidence, he said, had arisen from the Commission's active program to clear away its backlog of natural gas cases through stream-lined procedures, staff reorganizations and changes in rules and regulations. Clearing away scores of long pending rate cases put many companies on a firmer financial footing because huge sums of money they had been holding subject to refund were released, partly for return to consumers and partly for company use.

The Commission, Swidler continued, had improved its channels of communication with both electric power and gas industries through establishment of advisory groups; for example, the Natural Gas Advisory Council and the National Power Survey. The establishment of these groups had been received in good spirit by the industries as a step toward better understanding and cooperation in the federal government's regulatory program. Participation by business leaders in these advisory groups testified to their support of the new regulatory policies, under which industry was being given firm guildlines to follow.

Swidler quoted trade magazines in his support: "A recent article in *Gas*, one of the large gas industry trade publications, said that one reason gas producers are seeking large reserves is 'their growing faith in the present Federal Power Commission.' The article said that this confidence in the Commission is marked by a sense of freedom from favoritism, and added that 'most explorers and producers had rather have an honest, if tough, Commission than one which might favor one producer against another, even while siding with producers as a whole against the other segments of the industry and the consumer'."

This correspondence with Lee White may well have taken place, Swidler said, but he does not recall it.

The Gassing Game

As the Swidler letter indicates, it would be ungenerous for the gas or the electric industries to accuse the Federal Power Commission of neglecting their interests. Indeed, in two other major instances the Commission has bent over backward to accommodate industry.

The first of these concerns the natural gas industry where the Commission historically has been especially ineffectual in holding down prices.

The price of natural gas to the consumer depends on three separate factors: what the producer sells it for at the well head; how much the pipeline company marks it up before selling it to the distributor, and how much the distributor marks it up before selling it to the consumer. Until 1954 the Commission regulated only the second of these – the markup by the pipeline company. Local regulatory commissions regulated the first and third. However, the FPC's efforts to regulate the pipelines were futile since price rises were triggered by producers at the well-head and passed on up the line.

In 1954 the Commission was directed by the Supreme Court to regulate the price the pipe-line companies pay producers for their gas supplies. This it failed to do. Instead, it spent most of its time from 1954 to 1960 promoting legislation in Congress to reverse the court order and exempt producers from regulation. Even today no effective regulation of well-head prices is in operation. The Commission has given up the idea of trying to regulate producer prices through the usual method of establishing the costs of each company and then setting a fair rate of return. It pursues rather a master scheme of establishing area prices for each of 23 different gas producing regions: it attempts to survey the costs and other pertinent financial data of all companies in a given area, and then establishes a price

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for that particular region.

For the past two years now, the Commission has been trying to set prices for the Permian Basin area of Texas, first of the 23 regions. As in all such cases, the Commission staff is directed to present the best possible case in behalf of the "public interest." In this instance it is the helpless household consumer who is paying more than double the price of gas in 1946. The FPC staff and other interested parties (producers, pipelines, state public service commissions, distributing companies and others) will argue their positions before an FPC examiner, who will write an initial opinion. Then, the interested parties may submit "exceptions" to the examiner's conclusion and argue these before the Commission itself. This is, in effect, a judicial proceeding; the members of the Commission and the staff members involved are forbidden from entertaining *ex parte* or off-the-record communications with interested parties which might prejudice the outcome of a case.

Yet on November 20, 1962, while the Permian Basin case was being argued before an examiner, the president of a group of gas producers which had participated in the case wrote Swidler:

"Dear Mr. Chairman, we take this informal means of respectfully suggesting that you personally invite our detailed comments concerning recent developments in the FPC evolvement of an area pricing concept for natural gas production. . . . In particular, we would be pleased to detail for your personal attention our differences with findings and proposals of the FPC staff as stated at the reopening of the Permian Basin area proceedings November 15. We doubt that any worthwhile purpose will be served, however, unless we are given by you some reason to believe that our views will not be ignored or relegated to the staff for interpretation and possible distortion."

The writer, Mr. Johnny Mitchell of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association (TIPRO), then criticized the staff findings as the worst possible from the point of view of the small producers. "We now feel," he went on, "the situation justifies our stating to you unequivocally that unless and until the views and interests of independent producers are accorded at least some consideration, no further effort will be made to assist the Commission in its area pricing course. You are respectfully advised that the Commission will render a serious disservice both to the industry and to the nation if it fails to redirect the disastrous course of its staff." Mitchell concluded that "we must respectfully await your invitation for a detailing of our views on this grave matter."

Instead of ignoring this ultimatum or rebuking its author for abusing the Commission's rules, Swidler reassured TIPRO in a letter that the staff position was not necessarily that of the Commission, and that the Commission had not directed the staff beyond giving it general instructions. Should the Commission direct the staff in detail at this stage, it would be committing itself to answers before the evidence was in, Swidler said. Nor did he feel free to discuss the issues with any party because the Permian proceeding was a litigated case.

Having said all this, Swidler then suggested that he might arrange a meeting between TIPRO and the Commission staff to talk over differences in the Permian Basin proceedings. He also suggested that should TIPRO wish to discuss the general problems affecting non-integrated producers, the Commission could meet the members with an eye to arranging for possible membership in the Natural Gas Advisory Council.

On February 5, 1963, representatives of TIPRO met with the Commission. Swidler and his colleagues listened to a general discussion of the problems of these gas producers, which, included an attack on the Permian Basin hearings. The manner in which the staff had gathered its material and explicated its position, seemed grossly unfair to the producers. Following this meeting, the TIPRO representatives met informally with the staff where a further and more lengthy discussion of the Permian Basin proceedings took place.

On February 7, the Commission issued a press release stating that members of the Federal Power Commission had met with members of TIPRO. The release did not mention the peculiar circumstances under which this meeting had taken place.

It would probably be unfair to attach any sinister meaning to the TIPRO affair, although one may honestly wonder whether the Commission really is not engaging in an excessive coddling of industry in a case where its impartiality is extremely important, especially so to consumers whom it is supposed to protect and who have been soaked by the gas lobby in the past.

Holding Hands with the Electric Industry

Perhaps the FPC's major accomplishment on the electric power side, in Swidler's estimation, is the creation of the National Power Survey. Through a series of meetings, the Commission has drawn together representatives of public and private power to encourage them to work out a "voluntary" program for coordination of the nation's power systems. The aim is both efficient operation and lower rates for consumers.

(Actually this is a somewhat academic exercise on the part of the Commission, since it plainly stated – in the Pacific Power & Light Co. case – that it has no authority over the construction of transmission lines which make possible coordination and interconnection. That authority was yet to be delegated by Congress, the Commission said. Later in 1962 when John Moss drafted a bill to give the Commission this power, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commission opposed its passage.)

The practical function of the Survey is, as Swidler's letter to the White House of August 9, 1962, revealed, to act as a business advisory council to the Commission, or, as it has turned out, to provide a front behind which industry lobbyists can operate with more impunity.

In late December of last year, for example, Secretary of the Interior Udall and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman jointly gave notice that they intended to re-establish so-called "wheeling" regulations for electric power lines which cross public lands. This revives a persistent and complicated problem confronting the Interior Department. Congress has directed the department to arrange for the transportation of electric power produced at federal dams to certain government "preference" customers, among them Rural Electric Cooperatives, various federal installations and publicly owned municipal electric systems.

Interior has two alternatives in providing this service to these customers: It can build costly transmission lines itself, or it can pay private utilities to transport or "wheel" the electricity to the consumers. For their part, private utilities, which seek to get the government out of the power business, balk at carrying public power. In recent years the Interior Department has been experiencing increasing difficulty in arranging for wheeling agreements, and so in 1948, to provide itself with a bargaining lever, it made a rule that all private companies which intend to build transmission lines across public lands must allow the government to use excess capacity on these lines. This especially affects the West where the government owns vast tracts of land.

Private power interests immediately set up a shriek of protest, although it never has been clear how either their rights or their pocketbooks are hurt by the rule. The wheeling regulations do not take anything away from the private power companies. Under them, in fact, the government pays the firms for unused capacity, otherwise lying idle. Moreover, the government is required to give up its rights after 36 months' notice by the company that it will need the capacity. Nonetheless, diligent lobbyists were able to persuade President Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, to rescind the wheeling rules in 1954, and they remained inactive until Udall and Freeman announced their intention to revive them last winter.

At the end of January, 1963, the Federal Power Commission was advised by its counsel that the Interior Department's proposals would not affect the FPC's licensing activities and that it was not necessary to comment on the proposed rule. At this point, the Commission dropped the subject.

Then on February 18, the Commission received a special report from its Bureau of Power, a department within the Commission staff, which strongly urged it to oppose the Interior Department's proposals.

What persuaded the Bureau of Power to come forward at that late date? In all probability, a meeting held on January 17 of the Transmission and Interconnection Special Technical Advisory Committee of the National Power Survey. According to the official public minutes of that meeting, it had been devoted to discussion of such technical matters as "Typical Constants for Power System Components" and "Installed Costs of Transmission, Cables and Terminal Equipment." These minutes were incomplete and provided a highly distorted picture of what went on at that meeting. The Bureau of Power report tells what actually happened. The report says, "During the meeting . . . the proposed [wheeling] regulations were discussed at some length. The consensus was that if such regulations, as presently drafted, go into effect, they will provide many obstacles to the electric power industry in its efforts to interconnect and coordinate systems on a region-wide and larger basis. There is very little in the proposed regulations which will advance the implementation of the guidelines to be developed in the National Power Survey. On the other hand, these regulations could and probably would have a serious adverse effect on the Survey."

On receiving this news of industry's displeasure, the Commission bestirred itself. In a five page letter to Secretary Udall, Swidler for the Commission – Morgan dissented – declared that the proposed wheeling regulations would impede the Commission's own efforts to encourage "maximum feasible interconnection and coordination of power facilities of this country," thereby apparently assuming a responsibility for transmission line construction that the Commission previously had asserted it did not have.

The incident is instructive, not so much for revealing the Commission staff caught in the act of faking the minutes of an advisory committee meeting, but as an example of just how easily the Commission can be yawed about by industry lobbyists.

Having revealed none of the above information, the Harris subcommittee investigation into the charges of Howard Morgan drew to a close March 1. "You have a tremendous responsibility in your job," said Harris to Swidler, "not only as Chairman but as a member of the Commission as all of you have. . . . The consumers of America are depending upon your service. . . . So we can only wish all of you, regardless of who is down there at any given time, the best, and that you undertake the responsibilities, and that, whether you might be ordinary men or exceptional men, everyone do the best job that he can."

Thus did the natural gas industry through its foremost representative, Oren Harris, extend felicitations to the FPC in the manner of a parent company well pleased with a profitable subsidiary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Song of Myself, 1963

by John Wain

The Europeanization of America seems to be proceeding with as much pace and confidence as the Americanization of Europe. (Both processes stand out vividly when viewed from England, a country that is undergoing simultaneous Americanization *and* Europeanization.) Certainly the chief interest in Susan Sontag's much-heralded novel, *The Benefactor* lies in its completely

The Benefactor
by Susan Sontag
(Farrar, Straus; $4.50)

European character. If I did not know that the book was written by a native New Yorker and issued by a publisher in that city, I would assume without question that its author came from somewhere – anywhere – between Calais and Warsaw. This Continental flavor seems to me more eye-catching and more important than anything intrinsic to the book itself, which is a fairly standard literary exercise on that old European romantic theme, the relationship between the day-self and the night-self. Flanked by two quotations from the opium-dreamers Baudelaire and De Quincy, the story takes us through the shadowy adventures of a character named Hippolyte, whose main problem is the alignment of his dreams with his outward experiences. Like most classical names in modern literature, the name "Hippolyte" signals the approach of allegory; Hippolytus attracted the sexual desire of his step-mother Phaedra, and when he refused her she accused him before his father Theseus of having done her physical violence, whereupon he was banished and shortly afterwards killed when his horses were frightened by the sudden appearance of a sea-monster, so that they bolted and dragged him among rocks. The Phaedra of Miss Sontag's story is a woman named Frau Anders (since the story is set in what is obviously Paris, it isn't clear why she is Frau and not Madame, except perhaps to indicate a difference in origin between her and Hippolyte – stepmother and not mother), a woman some years his senior whom Hippolyte meets because she runs a *salon*. Being a modern young man, he doesn't recoil in horror from her sexual overtures; he merely enjoys her and then gets rid of her, by the peculiarly cynical expedient of selling her to a merchant in what the narrative quaintly calls "a city of the Arabs." And the physical hurt which Hippolytus was falsely accused of offering Phaedra is horrifyingly realized, in that she turns up later in the story crippled and mutilated by the sadistic attentions of some desert swain.

So far, the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus seems clearly, if glancingly, present. But it soon loses itself in the shifting outlines of the story. After proceeding for a long time on the assumption that the mutilated woman, heavily veiled, who turns up and becomes his responsibility is Frau Anders, Hippolyte is then confronted with a handsome, self-possessed woman in her late fifties who really is Frau Anders. What is happening? We don't know, and in any case by that time the boundaries of dream and external reality have become hopelessly confused. By the author's incompetence? On the contrary, by a very considerable skill. Hippolyte begins as a young man whose dreams are more commanding than his waking experiences, and by a skillfully managed transition he ends as an old man who has passed through a period of impenetrable confusion in which dream and reality formed a seamless fabric – passed through, and emerged into an old age in which these matters no longer trouble him. As he reflects:

> "Dreams filled my mind. I emptied them out. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary for me to give way to my dreams. And they had done with me, they left me beached upon the shore of my old age."

The process whereby Hippolyte "gave way to his dreams" is described in the bulk of the book, in a narrative which is remarkable for the adroitness of its interweaving. Hippolyte relates his dreams, naturally, in the fullest detail, and these dreams are dovetailed into an account of his "real" life which is as episodic, sharply visual, and unpredictable as the dream-world. He becomes a film-actor for a spell; shares the nocturnal adventures of a writer whose night-time interests are homosexuality and crime; marries a young provincial virgin and lives a quiet domestic life until her death; furnishes a huge house, which comes to him in a legacy, and fits it out for the use of his dependent, the pseudo-Frau Anders. All this is managed with a sureness of touch very unusual in a first novel. The trouble is that one has the impression of delighted skill applied to an end which doesn't, finally, much interest the writer. Miss Sontag, after taking us through some 250 pages of carefully-poised dream and reality, suddenly has the aged Hippolyte discover a manuscript he had written at some earlier period and forgotten. (Yes, really!) This manuscript relates his life entirely in terms of his dreams, altogether omitting the waking side of his experience. At the same time he discovers a letter, in his own handwriting, evidently addressed from a lunatic asylum and containing a *résumé* of his situation and an appeal for release. The author's object seems to be nothing less than a deliberate demoli-

Coming

A Soviet Political Satire

by Gleb Struve

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of the story, causing it to collapse into a heap of fragments that cannot be fitted together. And there, on the other side of the heap, safely isolated from the enigmatic experiences he has been describing, sits the aged Hippolyte, bland and serene.

Does it, in fact, all add up to anything? I willingly resign the question to anyone who feels able to bestow the necessary time and mental energy. What interests me is the symptomatic nature of the book. It owes nothing to any American author or to any American way of looking at things. Its ancestors are Baudelaire, Kafka, and perhaps in the distance Dostoevsky and Proust. In the character of the homosexual author who goes out burgling, it offers what seems like an oblique act of homage to Jean Genêt. Its style, formal, precise and colorless, puzzled me for some chapters until I suddenly remembered where I had met it before. Of course! It is translator's English – the sort of composite idiom one gets from the great Continental novels one first meets in translation during adolescence – Aylmer Maude's Tolstoy, Mrs. Garnett's Chekhov, etc. Any sentence that meets the eye will do as an example:

> "Inspired by the prospect of becoming learned, I enrolled in the most varied courses of lectures. But this very thirst for inquiry, that led to the investigations which subsequently preoccupied me, did not find a proper satisfaction in the divisions and faculties of the university. Do not misunderstand me, it was not that I objected to specialization."

Exactly the idiom of those translated masters, from Turgenev to Manzoni, who leave one's youthful mind with the impression of one giant book, all written in the same correct, colorless style.

American literature is either firmly rooted in everyday activity and preoccupied with the realities of the American scene, or metaphysical and preoccupied with the adventures of the soul in an unfathomable universe. Either *Huckleberry Finn* or *Moby Dick*. Either *The Bridge* or *Notes Towards a Supreme Fiction*. The mind that ignores both the passing scene and the metaphysical beyond, and concentrates instead on itself – this is European. From Sade to Genêt, French literature is one vast *Song of Myself*. Think of Cocteau's epigram, "Victor Hugo was a madman who thought he was Victor Hugo." Or Roger Shattuck's description, in *The Banquet Years*, of the self-annihilation of Alfred Jarry:

> "He rejected no part of himself or of his environment and methodically transformed it all into an artificial world, the inverted dignity of Père Ubu.
>
> "Such a transformation presupposes one absolute principle: the totality of human freedom. I can choose the color of my coat; I can choose not to wear a coat; *I can choose* (yet few men venture so far) *not to be I*. But: for such absolute freedom there is retribution. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, Jarry was overwhelmed by his own power. Ubu acknowledges no affections, no damnation; for him nothing is sacred, not even as in Faust, the clutch of his own mind. A distorted imagine of Faust, Ubu-Jarry is engaged in the only act logically left for him to perform: self-destruction. Elevation by alcohol became his form of protracted suicide; *yet while he was dying he was at liberty*. No wordly restraint could touch him."

Miss Sontang invokes Baudelaire, and in his "The Poem of Hashish," particularly in the third section, "The Seraphic Theater," can be found the entire meaning, or what appears to be the meaning, of *The Benefactor*. Again, one thinks of a poet like Rilke, of the struggle to sort out inner from outer experience in, say, the *Duino Elegies*:

> "Look, with me it may happen at times that my hands grow aware of each other, or else that my hard-worn face seeks refuge within them. That gives me a little sensation. But who, just for that, could presume to exist?"

This question of who can, and can not, "presume to exist," and on what terms, has never – yet – been crucial for American or English literature. But *The Benefactor* could be the trumpet-blast that will bring down the walls of that cheerful Jericho, the self-recognizing

Princeton Books on Politics

BUREAUCRACY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Edited by Joseph LaPalombara. This important book brings together twelve outstanding scholars who scrutinize current political ideas and modern-day governments as examples for new states evolving in Asia and Africa. The second in the seven-volume series, *Studies in Political Development*, sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council. $8.50

THE CIVIC CULTURE

Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations

By Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. In this book, presenting the results of one of the largest cross-national surveys ever undertaken, more than 5,000 people in Germany, Mexico, Italy, Great Britain and the United States reveal their attitudes on democracy, loyalty, political beliefs, aspirations and feelings, as well as personal participation in politics. The book promises to become a landmark in the literature of democracy and comparative politics. $8.50

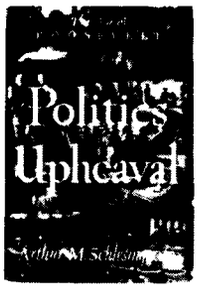
THE OPEN SOCIETY AND ITS ENEMIES

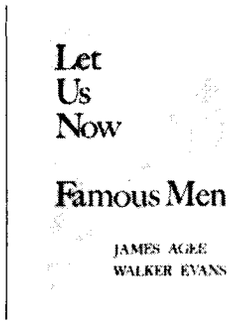
By Karl R. Popper. This merciless indictment of Plato, Hegel and Marx dramatically demonstrates that totalitarianism is indeed an ancient enemy. "A sincerity and originality of judgment seldom found in contemporary writing on political philosophy." — *Saturday Review*. "A defense, and in many ways model, of clarity, scientific method, and democratic procedure." — Joseph Kraft, *The Nation*. Fourth edition, revised. Two volumes, each $5.00

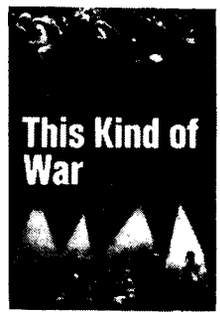
Order from your bookstore, or

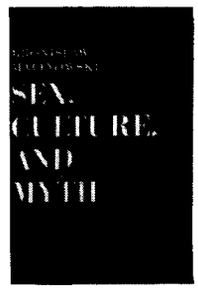
Princeton University Press
Princeton, New Jersey

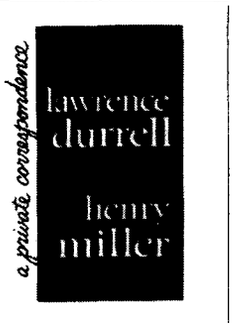
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

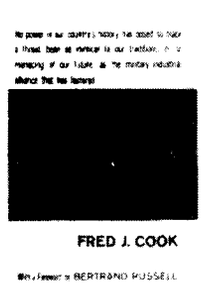


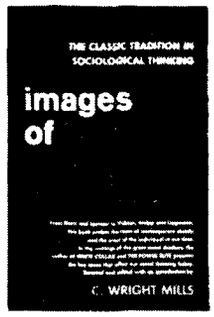






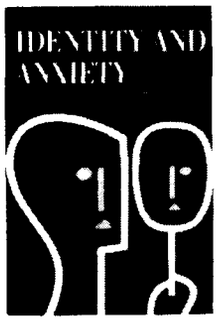


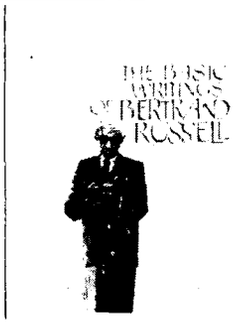


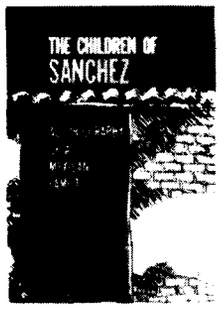


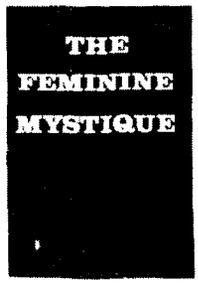
ANY THREE

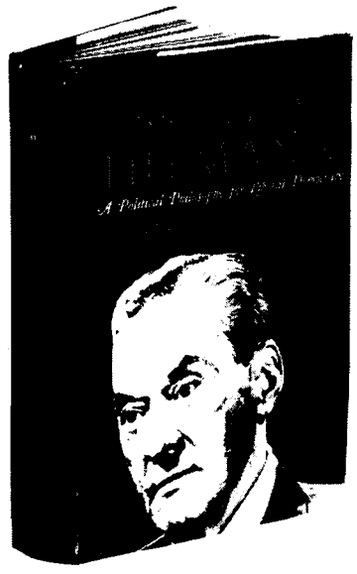
WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION







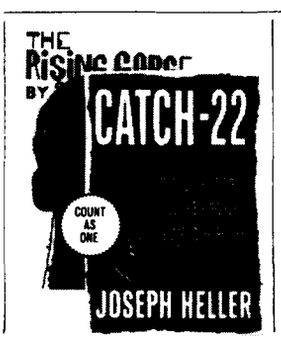


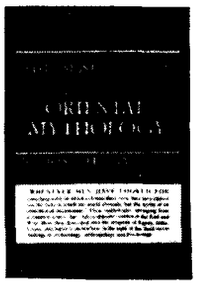


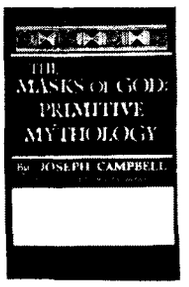
SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE—Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as **six** books in this way. ■ **CONVENIENCE.** Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want. ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $37.00.** ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

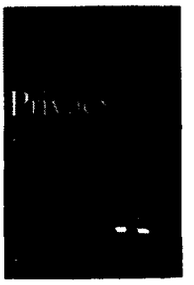
The Essential Walter Lippman: *A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy.* Editors: Clinton Rossiter & James Lare. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50
Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung. Retail $7.50 .... Member's price $5.95
The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50 ..... Member's price $6.95
•**Eichmann in Jerusalem:** *A Report on the Banality of Evil,* Hannah Arendt; and **Love Declared:** *Essays on the Myths of Love,* Denis de Rougemont. Combined retail price $10.00 ..... Member's price (for both books) $5.95
The Tin Drum: Günter Grass. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.75
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, Mills, May Swados, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller: *A Private Correspondence.* Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50
The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engles, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50 .... Member's price $4.95
The Warfare State, Fred J. Cook. Preface by Bertrand Russell. Retail $4.95 ..... Member's price $3.95
Images of Man: *The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking,* edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Spencer, Weber, Max, Engles, Veblen, and many others. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
The Greek Myths, Robert Graves ..... Price $5.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



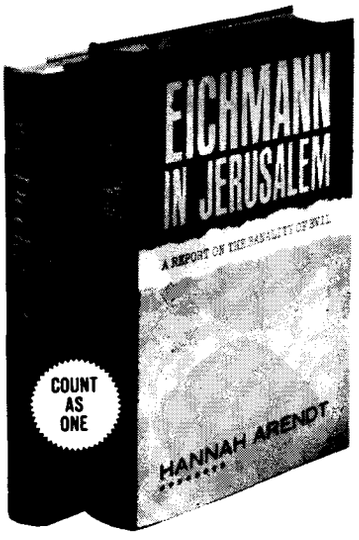


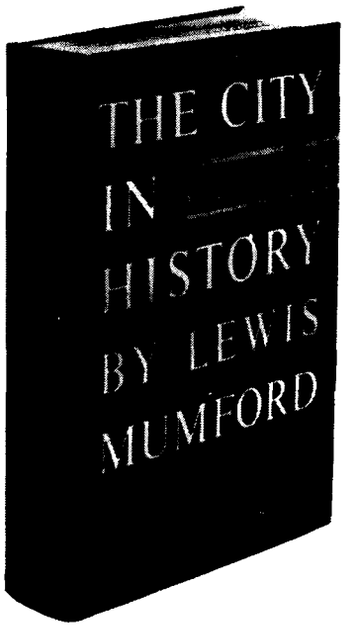


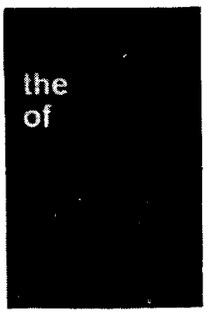


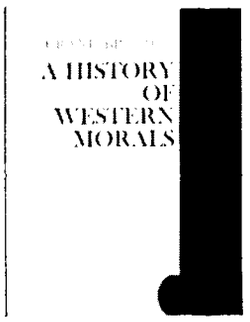
BOOKS FREE

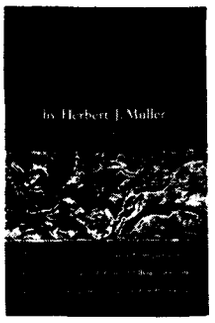
SAVINGS UP TO $37.00

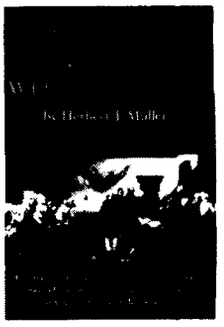












The Paper Economy, David T. Bazelon. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.95
The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95
•**Catch-22,** Joseph Heller; and **The Rising Gorge,** S. J. Perelman.
Combined retail price $10.45 ..... Member's price (for both books) $5.95
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $5.95
The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95 Member's price $4.95
The Children of Sanchez, Oscar Lewis. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50
The Masks of God: *Oriental Mythology,* Joseph Campbell.
Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50
The Masks of God: *Primitive Mythology,* Joseph Campbell.
Retail $6.00 ..... Member's price $4.50
Privacy: *The Right to Be Let Alone,* Morris L. Ernst and Alan U. Schwartz.
Retail $6.00 ..... Member's price $4.50
The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00... Member's price $3.50
Sex, Culture and Myth, Bronislaw Malinowski. Retail $6.95... Member's price $5.50
Freedom in the Western World, Herbert J. Muller.
Retail $8.50 ..... Member's price $5.95
Freedom in the Ancient World, Herbert J. Muller.
Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
This Kind of War, T. R. Fehrenbach. The Brutal Lesson of Korea.
Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.50
A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50... Member's price $4.95

•TWO BOOKS COUNTING AS ONE SELECTION

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc. 215 Park Ave. South, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection—or prefer to order another book—I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection _____
Free Books 1 _____
2 _____
3 _____
Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____
Please print full name
Address _____
City _____ Zone ____ State _____

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

B63-99

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ego. What will follow? The discovery, with Rimbaud, that "je est un autre." The disappearance of exploratory characters who introduce themselves with some bold self-identifying tag such as "Call me Ishmael," and the adoption instead of faceless, transparent spokesmen like Kafka's "K." Miss Sontag's Hippolyte, after exploring the terms of his existence for seventeen chapters, is no more a living presence than on the first page. He isn't meant to be. This kind of preoccupation with identity disintegrates identity, as it is intended to. The resulting ghosts inhabit a ghost landscape. Miss Sontag sets her story in Paris, but she never calls it Paris. The Germans invade and occupy the city, but they are never called the Germans. Real names would lead to real times and places, and hence to real people. An English theater critic reported sadly, last year, that "at present the French are fascinated by anything set in an unnamed town, in an unnamed state, (preferably Central European and totalitarian), during Time, the Present." This appetite for the disembodied goes with the demand for vaguely symbolic and "mythical" overtones. Which makes everything just about perfect for *The Benefactor*. I hope and expect that translators are working away like mad, preparing French and German versions. For in literature, as in all the arts, nothing pays better than taking coals to Newcastle.

I don't think I fully realized the Continental-European nature of *The Benefactor* until I got to the passage on page 245 in which the author, through the person of Hippolyte, disclaims any psychoanalytical alignment:

> "In a psychological study one takes dreams as evidence, as supplying information about the dreamer's preoccupations. I beg the reader not to avail himself of this simple way out, without at least considering my own example.
>
> "I am not interested in my dreams in order to understand myself better, in order to know my true feelings. I am not interested in my dreams, in other words, from the point of view of psychology. I am interested in my dreams as – acts."

Psychoanalysis originated in Europe, but it has flourished principally in the United States, because it fits in with the activism of the American character. It is a way of doing things, of working on one's circumstances and altering them. As such it is ironically dismissed by minds in the pessimistic European tradition, who see it as an undignified attempt to evade the essentially tragic nature of life. The attitude to psychoanalysis expressed in *The Benefactor* is exactly what we should expect from Baudelaire or Alfred Jarry. Strange things are afoot; the American century has taken an unexpected turn.

Amazing step-by-step guide to mathematics shows how easily

YOU CAN PROVE THAT 5 TIMES 5 EQUALS 41...AND 4325 PLUS 5041 EQUALS 13,410!

Sounds unbelievable but it's fact. With ease and accuracy, you can prove that 5 times 5 equals, not 25, but 41! And you don't have to be a mathematical wizard to do so. In fact, you need no mathematical background or training at all. Remarkable new MATHEMATICS FOR EVERYMAN shows you how to perform these and other feats with no more effort than you use in totaling the dinner check at your favorite restaurant. Without far - fetched "problems" or tedious "exercises," famed German mathematician-writer Egmont Colerus leads you step-by-step from operations as simple as multiplication tables to those as advanced as integral calculus. At last, mathematics makes sense to you—the secret is Colerus' use of concrete, plain examples and ordinary, everyday logic . . . so easy to follow you'll find yourself saying over and over again, "Why didn't anyone ever show me things like this before?" Says SCIENCE MAGAZINE, "His writing is lucid and entertaining—an easy style, a constant encouragement to continue." See for yourself —10-day free examination. ORDER NOW!

MATHEMATICS FOR EVERYMAN
by Egmont Colerus
$3.95. 10-day Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Dept. 808-M
251 West 19 Street, New York 11

To Find the Man in Man

by Victor Lange

If in the nineteen twenties it was Dostoevsky's fanatical mysticism and his "Russian" metaphysics that fascinated Western readers and writers, we have today grown skeptical of the blunt confrontation in his novels of guilt and redemption or pride and humiliation; we are no longer sure that evil and misery can be transcended in political or religious orthodoxy. We have, above all, come to see Dostoevsky the man more plainly: Mr. Magarshack's judicious biography offers us by far the most sensible and plausible account of this extraordinary human being – the harrassed, contradictory and often absurd writer whose true make-up and whose believable motives are not easy to discover under the overwhelming autobiographical rhetoric of his own feverish conversations and letters.

Dostoevsky
by David Magarshack
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $8.75)

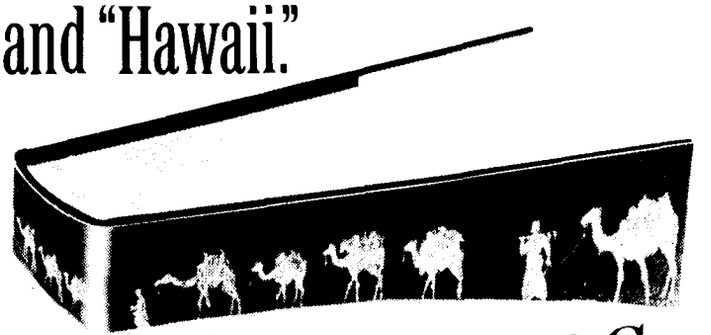
Dostoevsky's private as well as his public attitudes and ambitions are more easily excused and defined than the means by which he worked unceasingly to attain them. Mr. Magarshack is certainly not a biographer from spiritual affinity: he has little use for the elements of irrationality and ideological evasiveness which are so strong in Dostoevsky's life, and he judges his efforts at self-justification and self-deception with much common sense and often barely concealed irony. If he uses certain hitherto unpublished materials, these seem less important than the careful weighing throughout the book of familiar evidence. He warns us against the unreliable testimony of many witnesses, notably that of Dostoevsky's daughter Lyubov, and he weighs, particularly, the usefulness and the purposes of much of Dostoevsky's own private pleading. He is exceedingly careful, for example, to sift truth from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

special purpose and fact from fiction in *The Writer's Diary*. With an abundance of meticulously marshalled information and a most intelligent scrutiny of tangled motives he sets the events of Dostoevsky's life in fresh relief: the years in prison which turned the revolutionary into a rabid reactionary, his European travels and his mystical belief in the messianic destiny of the Russian people that made him a chauvinistic defender of the old order, his private affairs, the instability of his character that drove him into a series of desperate and incredible situations, and, most curious of all, the increasing divorce of his convictions from his writings – all this Mr. Magarshack relates with admirable clarity and detachment. What he stresses again and again is the central dichotomy between Dostoevsky's life and his art, the difference between his thinking as a creative artist and as an ordinary man. It becomes clear once more that his emotional ruthlessness, his deep-seated masochism and the remarkable deviousness of his personal relations, were not so much the condition or the corrollary of his genius as defects that often seriously vitiated the integrity of his work.

In his political views, Dostoevsky was not merely foolish and deluded, but motivated by vanity and opportunism; he had the power of intelligent analysis but used it for nearly inexcusable purposes. Nothing shows this unscrupulousness better than his relationship to the literary critics who first welcomed the revolutionary but soon disavowed him as erratic and as reprehensible in his political convictions. He was much influenced by Belinsky's radical views and probably by his atheism; he owed him, at any rate, whatever early fame he won. Yet, the celebrated break between the two men was the result largely of Dostoevsky's literary and political ambitions. It was much the same desire to establish himself as a writer and political partisan that determined his attitude toward Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. Of this curious need to accommodate himself, and of this remarkable skill of oblique maneuvering Mr. Magarshack gives ample evidence. That it left Dostoevsky throughout his life with an uneasy conscience is only another way of saying that his writing

JAMES A. MICHENER'S new bestseller is in the great tradition of his "South Pacific" and "Hawaii."



Caravans

CARAVANS will be produced as a major motion picture by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
A Book-of-the-Month Club selection. $5.95, now at your bookstore. RANDOM HOUSE

A bold analysis of our economic peril and a dramatic program for immediate action

FREE MEN and FREE MARKETS

BY ROBERT THEOBALD

Author of The Challenge of Abundance

$5.00, now at your bookstore

Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. / Publisher

"From now on the author stands as the focal point of public controversy to become as massive as the debates over social security thirty years ago."
—PROF. PAUL DOUGLAS

"Mr. Theobald is a practical trail-blazer in the whole field of economics and his new book seems to me even better than his other excellent books."
—LEON H. KEYSERLING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Africa Report

The most widely-read American journal on Africa

Objective, comprehensive news on a country-by-country basis; expert analysis of trends and dynamics; personality profiles; maps; photos. Book Department reviews all major new books on Africa.

11 issues each year plus a year-end index

$6.00 per year

AFRICA REPORT
Dept. NR, Suite 505
Dupont Circle Bldg.
Washington 36, D. C.
U.S.A.

A Scientist's Responsibility
by V. S. Yemelyanov

Should scientists give their talents to militarism or peace? Here is an absorbing discussion by the former Chairman of the Soviet Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Subjects include: Scientists and Atomic Weapons; Against the Atomic Bomb; In the Service of Reaction: The Menace of Nuclear Weapons; Teller's Followers; Prophets of Starvation; Barbarism in the 20th Century; The Moral Danger and False Assurances; The Danger from Radioactive Wastes; The Hunt for Scientists.

39 pp. 50c

Crosscurrents Press Inc.
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y. 10010

Please send me.....copies of *A Scientist's Responsibility*. Enclosed is $.....
(All orders must be prepaid.)

Name .....
Address .....
City .....State.....

and his beliefs were all too often in painful and paralyzing conflict.

But however vacillating he may have been in his religious or political views, he was, by temperament, a fierce and mean fighter. Idealism and fanaticism often go hand in hand. It is no contradiction to say that the very breadth of his Platonic vision of truth enabled him to adapt his tactics and even his political purposes to the opportunities that offered themselves to the propagandist. His passionate enthusiasm for Schiller, whom he revered as "the source of everything that is great and noble in man," was part of the liberal groundswell among the young Russians. "We were educated on him," Dostoevsky wrote late in life, "he was one of our own and we owe everything in our development to him." Schiller's unrelenting idealism was one of the elements in Dostoevsky that gave both toughness and flamboyance to his pursuit of truth. There were other, more specifically literary influences upon him that shaped and reinforced the romantic character of his vision and his art. Ann Radcliffe's tales stimulated his taste for the Gothic horror that he continued to find in the contemporary scene; George Sand's novels acted as an antidote against the despair and mental suffering that Byron and Lermontov had inflicted upon the idealistic generation of Russians, and her heroines continued for long to represent for him "the highest form of beauty in mercy, patience and justice."

If he returned again and again to Balzac and Dickens it was because he found in them the refutation of the perfectibility of man and, in particular, of the beliefs of the utopian socialists of his time. The *Comédie Humaine*, Mr. Magarshack notes, "aroused an inner conflict within him which he was never able to resolve and which, perhaps, he never wanted to resolve": Balzac was for him the devil's advocate whose basic idea was "the worship of material powers, contempt for every ideal, the restoration of evil, the anatomic analysis of vice, and finally, the absence of every moral ardor." And the grandeur of Hugo's *Les Misérables* gave him the scale and the gestures of story-telling which he felt to be most congenial to his double purpose of propagandist and creative artist. His verbosity he recognized as one of his chief defects: he knew, as Mr. Magarshack puts it, that he drove his ideas to a point where he was in danger of toppling over into the morass of mysticism.

As a political propagandist he allowed his prejudices to blind him to the most obvious consequences of the evils perpetrated by the Tsarist regime, and of these aspects of Dostoevsky's life Mr. Magarshack speaks with knowledge and insight. He is perhaps less specifically concerned with the bearing of Dostoevsky's ideological limitations upon his literary work. As a biographer rather than as a critic he speaks with a certain hesitancy of Dostoevsky's achievements as a writer. Still, he puts strong and often peremptory accents: *A Raw Youth* is "a failure, written without the inspiration of the great moral argument which always aroused his creative powers"; so complex a piece of fiction as *Notes From a Dark Cellar* is taken as hardly more than an exercise in political self-defense; *The Writer's Dairy* appears to yield little evidence of Dostoevsky's aesthetic concerns; and to *The Brothers Karamazov* Mr. Magarshack devotes only enough attention to illuminate certain aspects of Dostoevsky's later life and its paradoxical aspirations. "In *The Brothers Karamazov*," he notes, for instance, "it is the characters and the ideas which as a man Dostoevsky considered to be evil that spring to life with quite overpowering force, while the ideas and characters he approved of are 'made up' and in some cases, such as Alyosha's speech to the children at the end of the novel and the theme of the ressurrection itself, show no characteristic touches of his genius and could, in fact, have been written by any third-rate novelist."

But, however awkward Dostoevsky may have been in his craftsmanship, however old-fashioned the romantic and melodramatic manner of his fiction, it was the new view of man, the total view, that he tried to set forth in his novels. If Mr. Magarshack's able study gives full play to the historical circumstances that produced this curiously typical life of a writer in pre-revolutionary Russia, it is no less explicit and perceptive on Dostoevsky's own preoccupation with "the solution of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To celebrate our Tenth Anniversary

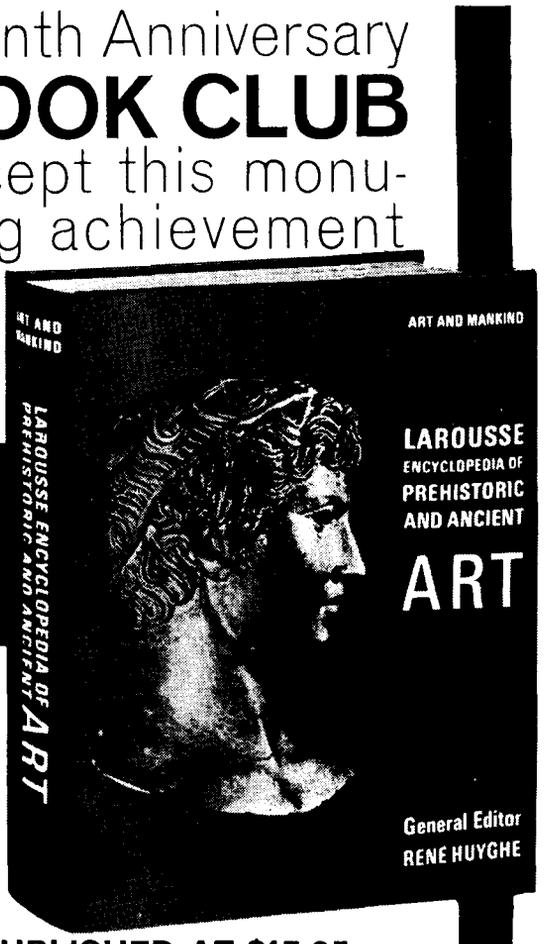
HUDSON BOOK CLUB

invites you to accept this monumental publishing achievement

FREE

with your first selection

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART



Spanning all the ages, cultures, and races of mankind from the dawn of human society to the Fall of Rome...and incorporating the most up-to-date knowledge in the fields of Art Criticism, Archaeology, History, Anthropology, Mythology, Iconography, Ethnology, and Comparative Religion.

To prepare the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART, celebrated scholars labored for ten years to assemble, document, and interpret the art treasures of the Neolithic, Paleolithic, Chalcolithic, Archaic, Homeric, Biblical, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman eras...as well as those of the comparable periods in India, China, Japan, Oceania, pre-Columbian America...and of the primitive societies that have survived into modern times.

The original French language edition from the famous publishing house of Larousse in Paris is one of the most highly acclaimed works of its kind in the world today. This is the first edition ever available in English. There is no other book like it.

EVERYTHING YOU WANT TO SEE AND KNOW can be found here in a few moments. Yet this great "reference" work is designed not only to be consulted for facts but read for pleasure. It will lead you spellbound through the history of art and the history of man as well...his ritual, folklore, myth, magic, mysticism, and symbolism.

"BEAUTY AND BESTIALITY INEXTRICABLY JOINED". Here are the cave paintings and megaliths of prehistoric man...the epic fusion of sex, religion, and art in the rites of the Mother Goddess...the lost civilizations of the Indus Valley...the art treasures of prehistoric China.

Read on and explore the art of the ancient Egyptians and Mesopotamians, Medes and Persians, Hittites, Canaanites, Phoenicians, and the long-neglected Carthaginians...the fabulous "Parisian" society of Minoan Crete...the Mycenaeans who brawled at the gates of Troy...the mysterious Etruscans...the stupendous art of Greece (greater and gaudier than the fig-leafed museum pieces have led us to believe)....the art of republican and imperial Rome...the barbaric splendors of the ancestral Celtic and Germanic tribesmen...the art of the incredible civilizations of ancient Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru...the ancient Negro empires in Africa...the art of the South Pacific (where family albums are composed of smoked ancestral heads)...and the 20th century primitive cultures in which the earliest gropings of human art live again before our eyes...**all of it illustrated and illumined in an incomparable assemblage of ancient, prehistoric, and primitive painting, sculpture, symbols, idols, rituals and sacrificial objects, many rarely seen by modern Western eyes.**

PUBLISHED AT $17.95

- **750 illustrations, many in full color**
- **A giant volume of 8½" x 11" pages**
- **Yours FREE with membership**

EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP OFFER. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART is typical of the kind of book offered regularly to members of the Hudson Book Club at reduced prices. Limited quantities have been set aside as Free Gifts for new members who join now. It makes good sense to send for your free copy today, with your first selection chosen from the list at right. If not delighted, simply return the books within 2 weeks and your membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. The club takes all the risk.

ONLY THREE MORE SELECTIONS NEED BE TAKEN WITHIN ONE YEAR. The Hudson Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning readers who share your tastes. By means of low Members Prices and free Bonus Books, it saves you an average of 50% on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price.

IMPORTANT TO ACT QUICKLY. Mail coupon today while free copies of LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART are still available.

CHOOSE YOUR FIRST SELECTION NOW and receive free your $17.95 copy of the **Larousse Encyclopedia of Prehistoric and Ancient Art.**

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA. By Gunnar Myrdal. 20th Anniversary Edition of the most important book ever written on American race relations. With a review of recent developments. List, $16.50. **Members' Price $10.95**

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Richard Hofstadter. Is America's notorious philistinism rooted in our deepest democratic beliefs? A revealing study by the Pulitzer-Prizewinning author of **The Age of Reform.** List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.95**

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO SCIENCE. By Isaac Asimov. Giant 2-volume boxed set clearly explaining the basic ideas in every field of science and brilliantly illuminating the dark corners. 219 illustrations, 853 pages. List, $15.00. **Members' Price $9.95**

CITY OF NIGHT. By John Rechy. This novel about a male prostitute is electrifying the literary world. "A humbling and liberating achievement."—**James Baldwin** List, $5.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

A TREASURY OF ART MASTERPIECES. Ed. by Thomas Craven. The most highly praised art book of our time in a magnificent new edition. 650 reproductions (161 in full color) of the world's greatest paintings. List, $7.95. **Members' Price $5.75**

THE SILENT PAST. By Ivar Lissner, author of **The Living Past.** The archaeology of the "lost worlds" that have haunted human history—from Atlantis to Jericho, Carthage, Yucatan. 115 illus. List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.85**

TROPIC OF CAPRICORN. By Henry Miller. "A moral work of great perception and feeling." —**Richard Seaver.** List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.95**

JOU PU TUAN (PRAYER MAT OF FLESH). "...a strange book, brimming with Buddhism. We are in the copulatory place of the **Francion** or of Sade."—**Nouvelle Revue Francaise.** List, $6.50. **Members' Price $4.75**

THE ROTHSCHILDS. By Frederic Morton. The major bestseller which is also a major work of biography, history and sociology. List, $5.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARTH. Monumental compendium of geology, paleontology, geophysics, oceanography, meteorology, etc. 600 illus., many in full color. List, $15.00. **Members' Price $9.95**

SPECULATIONS ABOUT JACOB. By Uwe Johnson. A work of fiction that signals the return of Germany to the arena of world literature. "A new creative voice."—**N.Y. Times Bk. Rev.** "A great new talent."—**Kay Boyle** List, $4.50. **Members' Price $3.75**

MARY McCARTHY'S THEATRE CHRONICLES 1937-1962. Uncompromising criticism, trenchant and original prose on the theatre as a branch of intellectual and social history. List, $4.50. **Members' price $3.45**

THE HERITAGE OF PERSIA. By Richard Frye. One of the world's great civilizations—from the Medes to Darius, Xerxes, Zoroaster, and the Islamic conquest. 64 pp. of illustrations. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $5.50**

Gibbon's **DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.** A modern abridgment by Moses Hadas. List, $4.95. **Members' Price $3.50**

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD. By Ernest Jones. One-volume edition, edited & abridged by Lionel Trilling & Steven Marcus. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $5.50**

O'NEILL. The distinguished biography by Arthur and Barbara Gelb. "An Everest of a book."—**Saturday Review.** Almost 1,000 pages, illus. List, $12.50. **Members' Price $7.50**

BLACK SPRING. By Henry Miller. The third volume in this forbidden trilogy. "A remarkable work of art. How could this ever be called pornographic?"—**Maxwell Geismar** List, $5.00. **Members' Price $3.95**

THE JEWEL IN THE LOTUS. A historical survey of the sexual culture of the East. By Allen Edwardes. Intro. by Albert Ellis. List, $6.50. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE WILL OF ZEUS. By Stringfellow Barr. A history of Greece that is also a consummate literary achievement. Written with power, grandeur and beauty. Illus. List, $10.00. **Members' Price $5.95**

THEATRE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Sartre on Brecht. Ionesco on Pirandello—and other major figures dissecting each other with no holds barred. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.85**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT WITH COUPON

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK 13, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Hudson Book Club and send me Free: **LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC & ANCIENT ART.** As my first selection, send me, at the low Members' Price:

(ENTER YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. Forthcoming selections and alternates will be described to me in a monthly Advance Bulletin and I may decline any book simply by returning the printed form always provided.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

☐ Please bill me for my First Selection plus shipping charge.

☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Same cancellation privileges. NR-197

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teachers

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we invite you to consider using *The New Republic* in your classroom. As in years past, we offer you the opportunity of ordering this magazine at a special classroom rate for bulk orders of 10 or more. Each student's copy costs only 10 cents weekly (less than one-third the regular newsstand price) if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. *Free desk copies are included for each instructor.* Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, even for one week only, if desired, or for the entire semester. Copies are mailed from Washington, D. C., on Fridays, three days before *The New Republic* appears on any newsstand, so that your students are assured of receiving the magazine while the news and reviews are fresh and exciting.

Advance payment is not necessary. You need only notify us how many copies and how many issues you wish. Your bill will be sent later. Mail your order without delay to:

CLASSROOM DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington 36, D. C.

mystery of man." In this respect the "Russian" becomes the monumental representative of the central and universal modern preoccupation "to find the man in man." "People call me a psychologist," Dostoevsky wrote at the end of his life," but this is not true. I am only a realist in the highest meaning of the word, that is, I depict all the depths of the human soul."

ART

Josef Albers on Tour

You can't really say the Bauhaus was murdered by Hitler. He tried, yet the spirit of the institution, through the work of its individual faculty members, has been livelier since its official death than before. Its general architectural style, set by Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, has been paid the ultimate compliment, not of imitation, but of total, deliberate-seeming degeneration and burlesque: the land is being covered with glass boxes from which the exquisite Bauhaus sense of proportion is totally absent but which, nevertheless, trace descent from Weimar or Dessau. Not only in architecture but also in the useful arts – or "design," as the field is called in memory of the Bauhaus – has the institution's seal of simplicity been travestied. In the lists of the furniture factories of Grand Rapids or High Point, in the silver factories of Meriden or Wallingford, "modern" is as firmly established as "French Provincial" or "Georgian."

Painting, too, has burlesqued the Bauhaus by isolating single doctrines – or, more accurately, by transforming into doctrines what were originally used as teaching devices in an extraordinary school. A great deal of Kandinsky's speculation on art was, in the 1950's, transformed into dogma by the American promoters of abstract expressionism. With the collapse of the abstract expressionist boom market, many people interested in the market as market began casting about for a logical successor. None has yet appeared and for various reasons none is likely to appear very soon. Foremost among the candidates put forth last year was Pop Art which, so far at least, has received nothing like the official and private acceptance and adulation established by abstract expressionism at its height. Second only to Pop Art as the nominated successor to the throne of fashion has been something called "color painting," with its interesting titular implication that other kinds of painting are somehow put together without color or at any rate without much conscious thought of color on the part of the painter. It is true that color painting seems to be based on a heightened awareness of color as a thing in itself. I have seen color paintings by a woman practitioner, for example, which consist solely of four short and single strokes of more or less pure color isolated on a field of white. Clearly the creator is calling attention to the colors selected, and, perhaps, to white.

Generally, though, color painting gets a little more complex than that. There are parallel stripes of colors, for example, set vertically or on a diagonal, upon a plain canvas. There are target arrangements of four or five colors. There are squares set in the corners of larger squares and there are circles laid out in rows. Crosses and T-shapes appear and sometimes X's. An occasional practitioner will descend from the austerity of pure color worship to set up optical vibrations between colors and we are enchanted as the shapes come and go and shimmer before our eyes. Rhetoricians have not been far behind the artists – in some cases have even

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Reese Cleghorn *is on the editorial staff of* The Atlanta Journal. Jay Neugeboren *is a University Fellow at Columbia.* Frank E. Kameny *is a research scientist.* Victor Lange *is on the modern language faculty at Princeton.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been ahead – in discovering that the contemplation of pure color and not, after all, the mystical frenzy of the artist in slapping paint upon a surface, is the last best hope and the final end of the art of painting.

This represents, in truth, not the last best hope of painting but only the latest, worst dogmatization of empirical teaching practice as invented by the German masters before Hitler. Color painting is one more dreary subdivision in the Bauhausing development that has characterized so much American art. Specifically, the fount from whom these blessings flow is Josef Albers, who went from the Bauhaus to Black Mountain and has for many years now been at Yale. The Smithsonian's Traveling Exhibition Service has just begun a long tour of "Albers: Interaction of Color" through the United States and Canada. In the show, based on the artist's recently published book of the same name, may be found everything of value in the new color painting. Albers has been working with the basic concepts for about forty years and he handles them like the master he is.

This is not to say that color painting is "merely" Albers all over again. Would that it were. The exhibition reveals, if you happened not to know it already, that Josef Albers has been one of the great teachers of our time and therefore one of the great spirits of our time. There cannot be too many of such souls; there are never enough. But, as with the glass cubes for buildings, as with Grand Rapids modern, color painting is a vulgarization and an apotheosis of a handful of Albers' discoveries.

The discoveries are revealed in the exhibition. We are confronted, at the outset, with color panels, side by side, each embellished with an X, the two X's apparently quite remote from each other in color. Following their lines we find that at one point they meet: their colors are identical. Color, the "most relative" thing in art, has been behaving for us with extreme relativity: the identically colored X's, resting on different grounds, have presented themselves to us as wildly different themselves. The experiments continue: two different colors are made to look the same through the precise adjustment of their grounds. We are challenged to choose the darker, or the lighter, of each pair in a series and made to see that we fail. We are bewildered at the difficulty of grasping color and watch, with relief, as Albers brings some order into our perception of it. Later, the show opens just about the whole bag of tricks currently employed in color painting: we are confronted with targets and stripes, with colors that vanish and reappear, with lines that vibrate like a musical beat. Always we are in the presence of a humane and humble intelligence, bent with complete dedication to the lifelong examination of the phenomenon of

LIBERATION

Liberation, an independent radical monthly, is the most widely read spokesman for the nonviolent movement in all its aspects—civil rights, peace and the struggle for economic justice.

Its regular contributors include Edmund Wilson, James Baldwin, Karl Shapiro, Barbara Deming, Paul Goodman, Erich Fromm, Kenneth Boulding and Bertrand Russell.

It was the first publication to carry Martin Luther King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail," and alone printed the unabridged version. Dr. King says: "*Liberation* makes a unique contribution to the central issue of our time—the relevance of nonviolence to the struggle for peace and social change."

A lead article in *Commentary*, "The American Left and Cuba," praised *Liberation* for providing thoughtful and "vigorous controversy" and rising above both "bland, doctrinaire apologetics . . . and . . . revolutionary romanticism."

Now is a good time to subscribe. You will receive the first copy free, the 52-page Summer number. In it you will find the beginning of a symposium on the controversial British publication, *Towards a Quaker View of Sex*, plus reports from two editors who were actively involved in the Birmingham demonstrations. These contain some extraordinary material that as yet has not appeared in print elsewhere. Also: "New Light on the Bay of Pigs Invasion," by Jesse Gordon "An Open Letter on German Disarmament," by Pastor Hans Haselbarth; and lively controversy on "The Peace Image," by Homer Jack, A. J. Muste and others.

Liberation is concerned with the develoment of a new spirit in American political and cultural life. It explores solutions more revolutionary than those proposed by liberalism and attempts to reawaken the controversial tradition. The goal is to stimulate the courage to think and act independently.

If you enclose payment with your order, you will receive a free copy of Camus' *Neither Victims Nor Executioners*, a *Liberation* paper-back which is unavailable elsewhere.

Editorial Board: Dave Dellinger, Sid Lens, A. J. Muste and Bayard Rustin.

LIBERATION
5 Beekman St.
New York 38, New York

Please check one of the following:

☐ I would like to subscribe. $4 is enclosed. In addition to the free Summer issue, please send Camus' *Neither Victims Nor Executioners.*

☐ I would like to subscribe. Please send free Summer issue and bill me later.

☐ I would like a three month trial subscription. Enclosed is $1.

☐ Please send a sample copy. 25¢ handling charge is enclosed.

Name _____ Please Print

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

color. For example, Albers, the European, notes with interest that "autumn leaves" are almost wholly an American experience; he does not pursue the ecological background for this, but simply notes, with gratitude, that we Americans are singularly blessed with our leaves in fall and points out some of their salient features in regard to the interaction of color. The approach is not to find a theory proved by Nature, but rather to use a theory to increase our perception of Nature.

In the old days when classical logic was taught as a preparation for Aristotelian philosophy, there was a stock instance of the apprentice logician going home to dazzle his younger siblings with the baffling behavior of the logical paradox. More than any artist or any teacher, Josef Albers has explored and come to command the analagous field of visual paradox and has used that command to teach color. The apprentices are dazzling the youngsters with the tools the master has made.

Despite its farcical reductions to a whole series of absurdities, the Bauhaus remains one of the great achievements of our time; its greatness is affirmed not by the lakeside apartments in Chicago, but by one's sudden exposure to such a mind as that of Albers. The old academic title, Doctor of Humane Letters, often misused, retains still something of the aspiration of those who devised it. In that sense Josef Albers has been a doctor of humane colors. As with many of his colleagues, we have been enriched by the disaster that brought him to us.

FRANK GETLEIN

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

A New Appraisal by Norman Thomas

In this pamphlet of 48 pages Norman Thomas brings up-to-date his convictions on socialism.

Published at 50c a copy by

Post War World Council
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

(New York City residents add 4% for sales tax.)

PSYCHOANALYSIS and CIVILIZATION

by PAUL ROSENFELS, M.D.

Through a creative and scientific approach to human nature, this book unifies the historic separation between individual and social psychologies, bringing new insight to the reader who wishes to understand the behavioral complications of individuals and families, political groups and nations in the atomic age. $3.95

At your bookseller or postpaid direct from:

LIBRA PUBLISHERS, 1133 Broadway, New York 10

Correspondence

Civil Rights – A Rejoinder

Sirs:

Your editorial reply to my article on the public accommodations bill ("Civil Rights – A Challenge," August 31) does not reveal whether you perceive in this case a principle which takes precedence over that of individual liberty, what it is, or why it should prevail. I gather that you feel strongly, but that is not enough. Until one is shown a competing principle, he may be excused his reluctance to sacrifice freedom.

A principle is required because a society which values freedom as well as democracy must face the task of defining those aspects of life in which the majority may properly coerce the individual through law and those in which it may not. Though your reply would indicate it, I find it hard to believe that you are really among those who require no license for coercion other than their own preferences (read "intense moral convictions," if you like). That would make numbers and strength of passion the sole principles of legislation. I think some better standard is both required and attainable. Its precise statement may be beyond our present capabilities, but I suggest that the proposed legislation, which would coerce one man to associate with another on the ground that his personal preferences are not respectable, represents such an extraordinary incursion into individual freedom, and opens up so many possibilities of governmental coercion on similar principles, that it ought to fall within the area where law is regarded as improper.

Your reply on the basis of "experience" also seems deficient. The historical existence of common law duties and local statutes paralleling the proposed federal law does not in any way demonstrate their wisdom or that their principle ought to be extended. Even wider of the mark is your suggestion that personal freedom is not really involved because if it were "we would need legislation allowing individual waitresses, hotel clerks and charwomen to decide whom they would serve and whom they would not." In fact, such persons have precisely that freedom. Your suggestion that they do not can only be supported by equating the individual employer, for whom the waitress need not work, with the government, which no citizen can escape. To employ such an equation is to confess inability to see the difference between a contract and a statute.

Insistence that title to property is involved in the right to discriminate with respect to its use advances the argument not one whit. One must certainly own a barber chair in order to refuse to let another man sit in it. But the discovery of something called "property" in the situation does not of itself render the desires of the titleholder inferior to those of every person lacking title. A question of personal freedom is inescapably involved and cannot be exorcised by calling it an "economic privilege" – not even if you say it three times.

Robert H. Bork
Yale Law School

Dropouts and the Draft

Sirs:

On August 17 you published a note, "Dropouts and the Draft." Let me start by analyzing some of the more dubious statements therein:

> "Unlike schools, the Army is organized on the assumption that its recruits are dimwits."

Well, I don't know how long it has been since whoever dreamed that sentence up has been subjected to Army training but as of now the Army is organized for training on the basis that its average recruit has the intellectual level of a median high school sophmore or junior. Now while those are admittedly not Olympian heights, they are somewhat

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

PARDON ME, SIR. WHY ARE YOU FOLLOWING ME?
I'M YOUR SIT IN.
YOU MUST HAVE THE WRONG PARTY. I'M NOT A LUNCH COUNTER.
I'M A SOCIAL SIT IN, NOT A PROPERTY SIT IN. WE INTEGRATE PEOPLE.
DON'T GET ME WRONG. I UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU'RE TRYING TO DO. BUT I CAN'T TAKE YOU TO WORK WITH ME.
HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A COLORED PERSON TO WORK WITH YOU?

BELIEVE ME, I WOULD IF I FOUND ONE QUALIFIED. I'M ON YOUR SIDE. YOU DON'T WANT ME!
WONDERFUL. WE CAN DISCUSS IT AT WORK.
LOOK, I DO MY BIT! EVERY DAY I DELIBERATELY SIT NEXT TO ONE OF YOU ON THE BUS! DON'T I GET SOME TIME OFF FOR LIBERALISM?
HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A COLORED PERSON HOME WITH YOU?
The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

HOLD ON! I NEVER MIX MY HOME LIFE WITH MY POLITICS! HOW LONG DO YOU EXPECT TO STAY WITH ME?
WHITHER YOU GOEST, BABY, I GOEST.
©1963 JULES FEIFFER
9-8
CIVIL RIGHTS USED TO BE SO MUCH MORE TOLERABLE BEFORE NEGROES GOT INTO IT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS

140 cities, 19 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.

BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

SPECIAL 300' correspondence tapes. 80c postpaid. Communications Exchange Service, Box 733, Route 2, Chester, Virginia.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch wire and safety resistor, $1.50.
THE SILENCER
P.O. Box 106
Berkeley 1, California

Reporter — 20 issues — $3.25
Ladies Home Journal — one year — $1.50
Newsweek — 40 weeks — $3.65
Time (Student) — one year — $4.00
Inquire low rates — popular, professional periodicals.
POLLOCKS MAGAZINE SERVICE
LITTLE SILVER NEW JERSEY

INTEREST TO WOMEN
Free Gifts. Rare Colonial, Modern.
Technicolor Catalog. Rush 25c
PERRY
173 Pleasant Englewood, N. J.

GRAND TOUR – SMALL PRICES
Use the accepted travel guide published in 4 languages in Europe for use by Europeans. Pay prices marked for Europeans. Go to the hotels, restaurants, shops frequented by these economy-minded travelers.
560-page book, covers every country. Over 600 cities and towns, with intimate descriptions, profusely illustrated. $2 check or money order will save you hundreds. No COD's. Write to Travel, Box 132-N, Hewlett, N.Y.

SUMMERLANE SCHOOL AND CAMP
"An American Summerhill"
Box 26R, Mileses, New York

NEW CATALOG ANTIQUES with charming free gift $1. Gloucester Art Galleries, P.O. Box 538, Gloucester, Mass.

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS
Masterpieces by Sharaku, Hiroshige, Utamaro, Hokusai, etc.
Accurately reproduced by hand-carved woodblocks using exactly the same materials as originals.
Full-scale; museum-authenticated
Illustrated pamphlet listing over 250 titles, $1.00 airmail (refundable against first order)
Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints
CPO Box 362
Tokyo, Japan

above the dimwit class. Those below the Grade III level (90-110) have more than a little difficulty. We do try to make basic training basic, but this has more to do with the change in orientation and patterns of life required for adjustment to military service than with any assumption that recruits are really stupid.

> "Unlike the Office of Education, the officers have plenty of time to go over and over the same material until every trainee learns it."

This is just not so. Our training cycles are pretty short – about 8 weeks for current basic training and if you think this permits plenty of time for constant repetition of the same material I'd suggest you go visit a basic training center and see for yourself the amount of material we cram into those 8 weeks.

> "Unlike the Office of Education, the Pentagon finds it comparatively easy to get the money it needs from Congress."

It would be far more accurate to say that the military services find it comparatively easy to get from the Congress what the Congress thinks they need. If you doubt that, look at the [parsimonious] appropriations for military housing. If the Congress thinks we need a specific type of hardware they'll vote more money than has been asked, but those funds cannot be switched to other purposes such as literacy courses for Joe Dimwit.

Let me also raise a few questions to which *NR* might consider addressing itself in subsequent issues. Among these are:

1) Does the Army alone have to take the Category IV's (and perhaps V's) or will the President order the Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard to take their "fair share" too?

2) Will the manpower ceilings of the military services (or of the Army alone if that is the only service affected) be raised sufficiently to cover these non-effectives – and the effectives we need to take care of them?

Let me elaborate a little on the last point. The lower you go in the IQ level the higher you go in: Court-Martial rates, VD rates, medical care problems other than VD, claims problems (accident proneness seems to accompany our dimwit friends too). All of these matters require skilled people to take care of them. These people are thus occupied and cannot devote their time to more productive effort. A simple example: since raising the Army IQ standards we have been able to shut all but one disciplinary barracks, and this has saved several hundred custodians and guards. Of course we still have local stockades but their population is much lower than it was under the older set up. Further, as you acknowledge, it takes more time to train these dimwits, which means that we have more officers and NCO's tied up in this special training program. These people have to come from somewhere. Whether you realize it or not, good effective training personnel are among our scarcest commodities and few people want the job. It is demanding, thankless, and the hours are terrible even by military standards.

3) Finally what do we do with Joe Dimwit after we've taught him to write his name instead of an "X" on the payroll and have raised his intellectual capacity to the point where he can read comic books?

Will the Congress or the public now, in what is referred to in some circles as peacetime, permit the Army to use him for the only thing of which he is capable – manual labor? Our Engineer Construction units are prohibited from doing much in the US (competition with private industry and union labor you know). So we send him and thousands of his like overseas – and the image of the USA takes another beating. These people have an incident rate all out of proportion to their numbers. They can't understand "these year furriners" and can't avoid getting in trouble with them. The trouble is varied, running all the way from bastardy proceedings to mayhem, but it is always there. The only question which arises is, do we court-martial them or do the locals try them in their courts?

To keep them in the US means we have to find something for them to do.

Did I hear you say why don't you make infantry men of them? Of course. But how do you teach them map reading and compass work so you can take

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them on a patrol without getting some good men killed? Did you ever try to teach these types to read a map – I did and my nervous system hasn't recovered yet.

It is unfair I know, but the probabilities are that we shall have to continue to send the better men out to find out whether or not "dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori," while our dimwit friends remain behind to breed more of the same. This is stupid I know. So is war. But in war there are no prizes for second place, especially if your opponent is any country but the United States of America. In war time we can and do, *faute de mieux*, use quite a good number of such people. But then we have (1) no manpower ceilings, (2) no budgetary ceilings, (3) lots of work to be done and no unemployed to complain that they are being deprived of jobs by soldier labor, and (4) lots of fine, intelligent, well-motivated people to train, service, lead, and guide our slower-witted friends.

It is the glory of the Army that it can and will do any job the nation, through its President, tells us to. But are you really sure that today you want the Army to do this one?

(The author is a US Army officer, and since this letter has not been cleared for publication by the Army, his name has been withheld.)

In reply:

If IQ tests were perfect predictors of success on every task, the Army would have an excellent case for refusing to draft men whose scores were below 90 or thereabouts. But experience has shown that many men with IQ's under 90 make excellent recruits, and are quite capable of mastering the course now set by the Army. (This course may in principle be aimed at an average tenth grader, as our correspondent says, but in practice it taxes only a few of those who follow it.) Of course, as our correspondent says, the more under-90's the Army takes, the more washouts it will have and the more trouble it will bring on itself. But that is true of every organization in the world. Short of selective breeding, however, there is no way to eliminate the stupid and apathetic from society. Somebody must hire them and take responsibility for them. The Army seems better fitted to do this than most civilian organizations.

If the various services took duller draftees and volunteers, would Congress provide the extra manpower and facilities needed to maintain current combat effectiveness? Perhaps not. But Congress is more likely to help the Army do this than the Office of Education. Furthermore, if extra money isn't forthcoming, it might be worth sacrificing some combat effectiveness to reduce domestic unemployability.

Christopher Jencks

The Two Vietnams

Sirs:

Your lead note on "Reunifying Vietnam," (September 14) while sound and challenging in many aspects, somewhat oversimplifies the very complex problem of the "Two Vietnams."

To make peace with Ho (assuming that he is still in a position where he could make peace over the opposition of his own "Chinese" wing) is a problem which does not *have* to be solved by handing over South Vietnam to him, anymore than to make "peace" (*i.e.*, cease shooting) with North Korea's Kim Il-sung meant handing South Korea to him.

While I am personally certain that part of the solution of the Vietnamese problem will have to be found in Hanoi, I am equally convinced that the democratization of the Saigon regime will have to be solved in Saigon – or Washington.

For the time being, creating in Saigon a regime that has some claim to popular support should be a better "bet" than handing the whole problem over to Hanoi, for that would be throwing out the baby with the bath.

Bernard B. Fall
Washington, D. C.

N A S S E R

has diplomats rereading his "Philosophy" to see if it is a Mein Kampf! Read Nasser's "Philosophy of the Revolution." Introduction by John Gunther.

Paperbound $1.00 PPD

Economica Books

4496 Main Street Buffalo 26, New York

BOOK OFFER: Marshall Knappen. "An Introduction to American Foreign Policy." Harper, 1956. 593 pages. $2.00. Midnight Books, Box 101, Wyckoff Heights Station, Brooklyn 37, N. Y.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File

Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

HARPSICHORD KIT – A superb, authentic, full toned instrument for home workshop assembly, $150. Same instrument as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. Also Clavichord kit, $100. Free brochure. Please write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher Street, N.Y.C. 14.

"BURY GOLDWATER"
handsome bumper sticker
$1 each; three for $2; ten for $5
801 Security Building
Roswell, New Mexico

FREE, PROMPT SEARCH locates hard to find books. Write wants:
CAMBRIDGE BOOK SERVICE
Box 18R Cambridge 40, Mass.

SATIRE *Newsletter*
Criticism, Scholarship, Satire
from Isaiah to beyond *Beyond the Fringe*
Send $2. for two issues to
SATIRE *Newsletter*, State U. College,
Oneonta, N. Y. (first issue, November)

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
7th floor
132 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

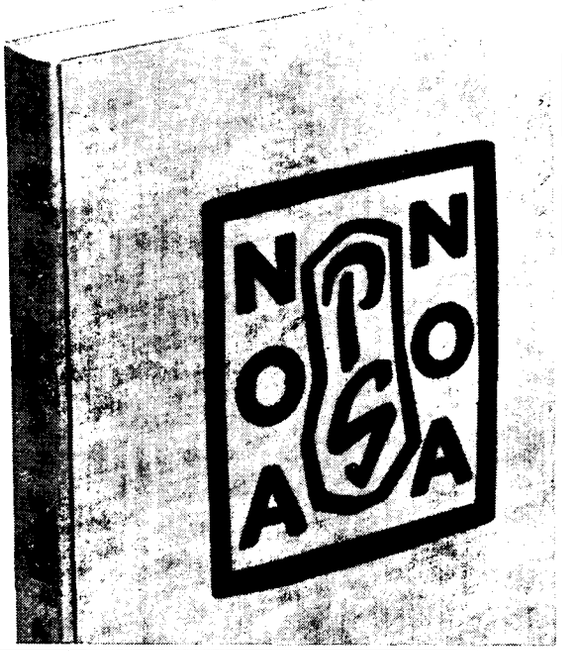
HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?

Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):

AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co. 7
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ONLY $1

For this beautiful $15.00 ART BOOK or any other book below

As a special introductory offer we will give you—

- ANY BOOK FOR ONLY $1—even if one of the books you choose is this sumptuous $15 Art Book!
- PLUS 1 OR MORE OTHER BOOKS for a special new-member price—only $2.95 each *regardless of regular retail prices up to $10 and more!*
- PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER for each and every book you buy later. These *$2.50 Bonus Vouchers*—which may be applied immediately, at any time, toward other books of your choice—are given *in addition* to massive *outright discounts* on club offerings. You receive at least one $2.50 Voucher for each purchase—even on the many books offered to members in the low $3 to $5 range. Other books often earn *more* than one voucher.
- SAVE OVER 90% NOW. New readers may thus save over 90% *now*—by joining the Society *at this time*. While you need take only one book at the introductory *extra-discount price*, the more you take the more you save.
- PLUS ANOTHER BOOK FREE [See coupon below] if you remit *now* for each book you decide to take at the extra-discount price for new members.
- THE MID-CENTURY MAGAZINE FREE, bringing you advance reviews of new books published each month—with informed recommendations of books to both read *& keep* [no fall-apart paperbacks] in every subject-category—books for pleasure, profit, reference . . . for the many interests, needs and appetites of America's "New Renaissance" readers . . . the best *novels, non-fiction, reference works, biographies, art books, histories*—and many more.
- PROFIT SHARING: Because the Society can order books in large quantities, it shares profits with members through sensationally *lower prices* plus the *Bonus Book Vouchers. Members* can thus buy first-run books—in publishers' regular cloth-bound editions for their permanent libraries [not cardboard-bound "cheapies]—for less than throw-away paperbacks cost!
- BECAUSE many of the books offered in this announcement are in short supply, **fulfillment of this offer can only be guaranteed for 30 days. Please, therefore, enter all your choices by number on the Request Form—and mail without delay.**

THE UNCENSORED GAUGUIN

☐ 209. PAUL GAUGUIN'S "NOA NOA" UNEXPURGATED. This passionate—and passionately illustrated—diary of Gauguin's life in Tahiti is the verbal counterpart of his paintings: a spontaneous and uninhibited reflection of his intense love of life, art and women. This *unexpurgated* edition, never before published in this country, includes 70 magnificent full-color reproductions of the little-known, primitively sensuous water-colors from the original manuscript. PUBLISHER'S RETAIL PRICE $15

PLEASE ORDER BOOKS BY NUMBER

☐ 149. A WORLD ON THE WANE. Perhaps the most remarkable work ever published on a sexually-uninhibited primitive culture. Includes 116 revealing photographs and drawings. Retail $12.50

☐ 169. THE WESTERN: From Silents to Cinerama. A lavishly-illustrated presentation of the most American of film art forms — the wild and wooly Western. All the magic names, including William S. Hart, Tom Mix, Gary Cooper, John Wayne, The Great Train Robbery, High Noon, How the West Was Won [to mention just a few]. Retail $12.50.

☐ 192. THOMAS MANN: THE "JOSEPH" TETRALOGY. A 1200-page single-volume edition of 4 of Mann's great novels: *The Tales* of Jacob, Young Joseph, Joseph in Egypt and Joseph the Provider. Retail $8.50

☐ 994. BOSWELL'S UNEXPURGATED "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides." The best of all Boswell journals now offered unexpurgated by virtue of the recent discovery of Boswell's last papers. Retail $10.00

☐ 211. SPECULATIONS ABOUT JAKOB by Uwe Johnson. The chilling new novel by Germany's prize-winning Wunderkind. On the surface a gripping "thriller" between the lines a disturbing and moving view of East versus West. A major novel of this half-century. Retail $4.50.

☐ 129. VAN GOGH: A SELF PORTRAIT. W. H. Auden's masterful condensation of the $50 three-volume set. Here, in Van Gogh's own letters and paintings is the mind, soul and vision of this tormented genius. Includes 36 little known Van Gogh paintings, drawings and sketches, many in color. Retail $10.00.

☐ 167. THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS. A beautiful prose-and-pictorial presentation of the earthy cults and rites of the Graeco-Roman religion—from the austere athleticism of Athena-worship to the hitherto shadowy doings of the Vestal Virgins. 124 breathtaking photographs. Retail $10.00

☐ 135. THE GENIUS OF LEONARDO DA VINCI. Leonardo's mind as revealed through 132 illustrations in color and monochrome and his own brilliant writings, supplemented by Andre Chastel's preceptive interpretations. Retail $12.50.

☐ 207. THE CRADLE OF EROTICA. A close scrutiny of the unusual and unrestrained sexual practices of Afro-Asian peoples as evidenced in their own literature [which is copiously quoted.] Shedding, as it does, bright new light on the meaning of "normal" vs. "abnormal," there is no comparable work in existence. Retail $9.50

☐ 938. RIMBAUD and BAUDELAIRE by Enid Starkie. Two (2) separate books—exciting and illuminating biographies of geniuses whose poems recreated the passions and sorrows of their tortured—and legendary—lives. Dr. Starkie's interpretations of Baudelaire [dandy and drug addict] and Rimbaud [slave trader and debauchee of remarkable pertinacity] are stimulating, sensitive and original. Combined Retail $20.00.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO and THE CONQUEST OF PERU

☐ 916. William H. Prescott's *immortal histories* of Cortes and Pizarro in a complete and unabridged one-volume edition. This story of the small bands of conquistadores in Mexico and Peru is one of the most dramatic narratives of all time. 1288 pp., fully indexed. Retail $12.50.

☐ 210. SALT *by Herbert Gold.* A smashing expose of *La Dolce Vita* as practiced in New York. This brilliant new book is about life, sex and the pursuit of status on and near Madison Avenue. Retail $4.95.

☐ 998. THE FIRST WORLD WAR: A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY *by Laurence Stallings.* The appalling "sights, sounds and smells" of *"The Guns of August"* through *"1918; The Last Act"*—as only the camera can re-create them. The definitive picture history of the First World War. Retail $7.50.

☐ 195. BLACK MAN IN AMERICA. In this deeply moving recording, best-selling author James Baldwin recollects his childhood—and his painful steps to status as a great writer in a white man's world. Retail $3.98.

☐ 83. FOUR SCREENPLAYS OF INGMAR BERGMAN, one of the greatest film-makers of our time, unveil a sensuality that is not always evident on the screen (mainly because of inadequate subtitles and censored scenes). Here are included all the situations "cut" from the screen versions—plus every delightful subtlety of dialogue. The screenplays: *Smiles of A Summer Night, Wild Strawberries, The Seventh Seal* and *The Magician.* Illustrated with 57 scenes from the films. Retail $6.00.

The GERMAN "CATCH-22"

☐ 181. THE OFFICER FACTORY by Hans Hellmut Kirst. Revolving around a mysterious murder in a Nazi officers' training school in 1944, this great new novel [overlooked in the N. Y. newspaper strike of 1962-63] presents an intimate picture of the behind-the-scenes chaos of Hitler's Third Reich in a series of gripping events that range from nerve-tearing tragedy to high comedy. [502 pp.] Retail $6.50.

JAMES BALDWIN on the NEGRO IN AMERICA

☐ 205. THE FIRE NEXT TIME. Best-seller Baldwin bares his soul—on the NAACP, the Black Muslims, and the rise of Negro power in the U.S. Here is the book that is lighting fire under both black and white America. Retail $3.50

☐ 163. ANOTHER COUNTRY. The famous novel that propelled Baldwin, virtually overnight to the top rank of American writers. Retail $5.95.

FREE

if payment is enclosed with order

THE DELIGHTS OF DETECTON edited by Jacques Barzun. Here is Mr. Barzun's choice of the best tales of pure detection, collected because "detective feats have been, since Voltaire and Poe, the delight of intellectuals," and designed to appeal both to addicts and "uninitiated" alike. Retail $5.95

REQUEST FORM

Mail to: THE MID-CENTURY BOOK SOCIETY, 115 East 31st Street, N.Y. 16, N.Y. NR-29

Enroll me as a new member. Also send me the book indicated below for only $1—charging me only for this book and the one or more other books ordered at the *special new-member price* of only $2.95 each. My only obligation is to buy four more selections during the coming year from the 100 or more to be offered at average savings of 50% under the publisher's retail prices [which already range as low as $3 to $5]. Over and above outright *Discounts.* I am to receive one or more *$2.50 Cash Bonus Vouchers* with each book purchased. [PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CHOICES BELOW BY NUMBER.]

I. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION FOR ONLY $1—WITH NEW MEMBER PURCHASE(S) AT THE RIGHT

II. Send The Following Selection(s) At Special New-Member's Price [$2.95]

Name .....

Address ..... City ..... Zone ..... State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED